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COMMUNITY PLANNING REVIEW

REVUE CANADIENNE D'URBANISME

Editor: ERIC BEECROFT

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COMMUNITY PLANNING ASSOCIATION OF CANADA
L'ASSOCIATION CANADIENNE D'URBANISME

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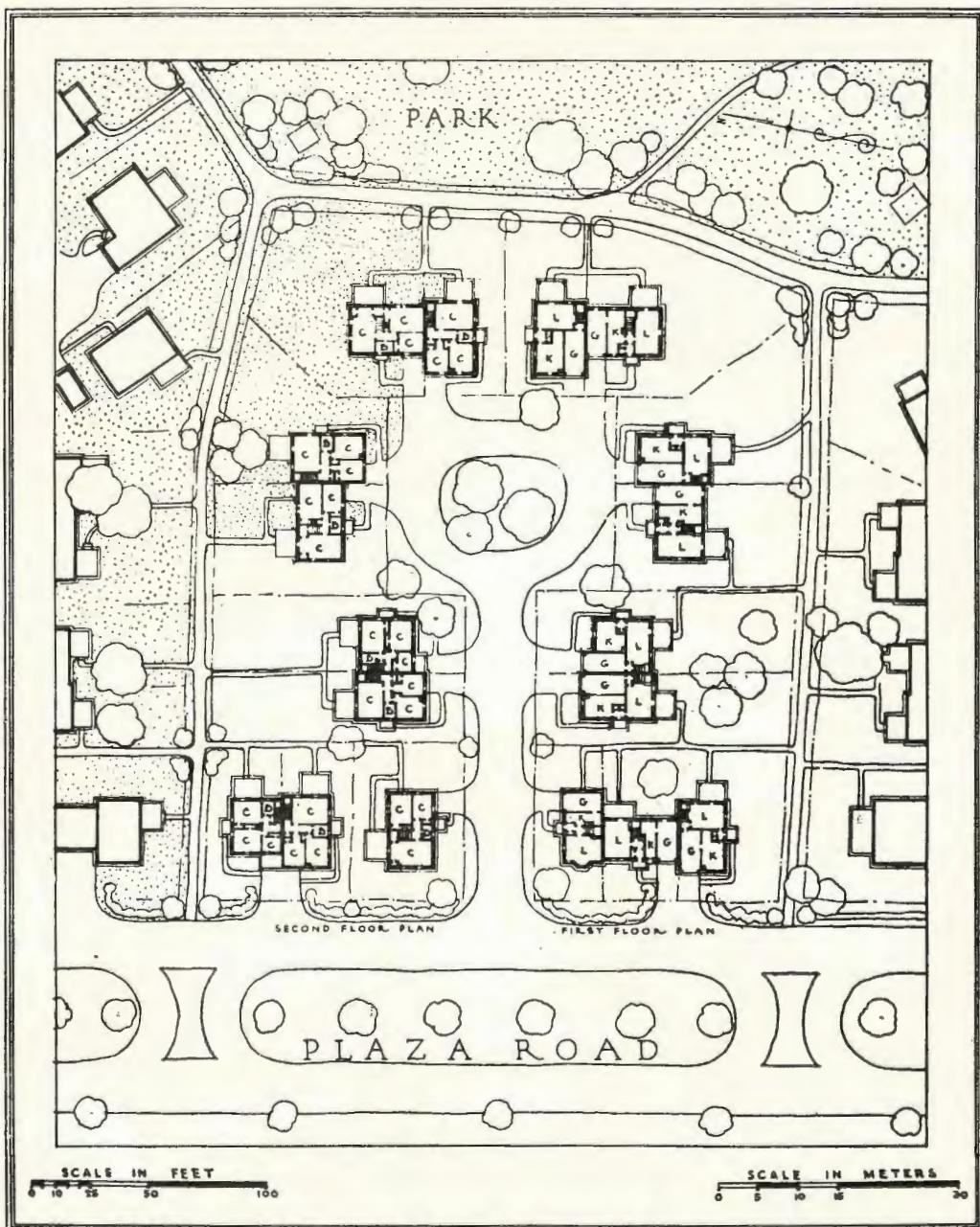
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COVER ILLUSTRATION. *The photograph, by Max Fleet of Toronto, shows row housing built for rental at Don Mills, Ontario by Roy P. Rogers Enterprises Ltd. The architects were James A. Murray and Henry Fliess.*

An article on this row housing appeared in THE CANADIAN ARCHITECT in February 1957.

The cover design is by Phyllis Lee.



Plan of Burnham Place, Radburn, New Jersey

One of many variations of the cul-de-sac unit, basic to the Radburn system of layout. Footpaths on one side of the houses lead to the inner park of the super-block. Private automobiles and service vehicles are confined to the cul-de-sac road.

The plan is from Clarence S. Stein's TOWARD NEW TOWNS FOR AMERICA. Stein's work at Radburn and elsewhere is referred to in Gordon Stephenson's article which follows.

Un des différents genres d'unité d'impasse, principe du projet Radburn. Des sentiers sur un côté des maisons conduisent au parc intérieur d'un vaste pâté de maisons. Les automobiles et les véhicules de transport ne circulent ailleurs que dans les impasses.

Le plan est tiré de TOWARD NEW TOWNS FOR AMERICA par Clarence S. Stein. L'article suivant de Gordon Stephenson réfère à l'ouvrage de M. Stein à Radburn et ailleurs.

HUMAN VALUES AND URBAN GROWTH

by Gordon Stephenson

In nearly all human endeavour, land is the basic commodity. On and under the land is the stuff which, transformed, keeps strengthening the already powerful elbow of modern civilization.

The dwellings, villages, towns and cities of man cover only a small part of the earth's surface. He gains his food from that part of the remainder which is fertile. We are very conscious of this in Ontario where towns are going onto lands that can't be reproduced anywhere else in Canada.

The elements, however, are still in command. With their aid, life itself has sprung from the earth. But if they are seriously disturbed, life may disappear. With his persistent, enquiring mind, modern man has now learned how to disturb the elements. But he has not discovered how to build great cities. Canadian cities are growing at an astonishing pace—in disorder. Vancouver is a city on a beautiful site. The main credit for its beauty is due to God.

In past ages men have built cities to match the magnificence of nature, with the great church as a crowning accomplishment of love and creative wisdom. In this age of "conspicuous consumption", the Houses of God are being built in the suburbs—on three house lots facing an endless street, and according to the by-laws.

There was a time when the creative urge outran building technique, marvellous as it was. I have in mind superb structures such as the Cathedral of Beauvais. The vision was beyond the technical accomplishment of the gothic builders. It collapsed once. The medieval builders started again. They could never finish the cathedral because it was physically impossible to do so; but what they did create was something astonishing. We now create monuments to the B.C. Electric and the Bank of Commerce. They will not fall down.

Today techniques have far outrun the creative urge or will of society. In many minds the machines, the gadgets and the mechanics of our time are uppermost. I shall know when we are ready to build magnificent cities: We shall be talking of children instead of cars, of the good life rather than dollars, of the city as a symbol of our civilization.

The immediate future is one of great challenge and opportunity. In the next 25 years, as we keep saying to ourselves, the urban population of Canada will double. The twentieth century industrial revolution is setting the pace. We are apt to forget that this is the reason for massive urban development.

Editor's Note

This is the memorable talk given by Mr. Stephenson at the National Planning Conference in Vancouver in September 1957.

Mr. Stephenson has been Head of the Division of Town and Regional Planning at the University of Toronto since 1955. Recently he completed the Redevelopment Study of Halifax. Just before coming to Canada, he was consultant to the Government of Western Australia in preparing regional plans for the metropolitan area of Perth and Fremantle. From 1948 until 1953, he was Lever Professor of Civic Design at the University of Liverpool and Editor of the TOWN PLANNING REVIEW.

Early in the war period, Mr. Stephenson had been a senior research officer in Lord Reith's reconstruction agency which became the Ministry of Town and Country Planning. He assisted Sir Patrick Abercrombie on the Greater London Plan in 1943-44 and was a technical adviser in the drafting of the New Towns Act and the Town and Country Planning Act. Mr. Stephenson's architecture degree is from the University of Liverpool. He studied also in Paris at the British Institute and the University of Paris. In 1936-38 he was a Commonwealth Fellow at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology where he took a Master's degree.

Without courageous action based on forethought, without a public will to build finer cities, the urban regions will spread, sprawl and scatter, in many places with irreparable loss of fertile land. The loss is one of the consequences of "scattering" (a very good word coined by our American cousins).

Urban costs will soar in the scattering process, urban living will be more frustrating, at a time when the possibilities of material well-being, so vividly described in the wonderful paper this morning, are higher than ever before—and rising fast.

What are the main problems? Are there solutions? The problems, I think, are becoming more obvious, and most people are very conscious of them, if only because of their own little difficulties which come from the general or main problems. Solutions will be found—I am of the optimistic school. They will be found in the lively field of practical politics which will vary from place to place, but only if there is a series of experiments and a continuous exchange of ideas.

Land is the basic commodity. It is the platform for all human activity. The private ownership of land was and still is fundamental to the development of Canada. Vast areas were subdivided, firstly, for primary production and, secondly, for urban settlement. All towns were subdivided into small lots, at first almost wholly for single family houses. This is still the appropriate subdivision for small towns. It is not appropriate for the vast extensions taking place in the urban regions of Canada and the world. It is small town stuff. In fact, the subdividers and developers are working with the ideas and techniques of the past, when they could be working with modern techniques, modern ideas, a modern concept of living. They play their part in a game of make-believe. Originally the small lot was a family plot, and on it the family built as its needs grew. Now, it is a patch of land with one of a thousand similar houses to be bought and sold like wheelless motor cars, and as with cars, people have never finished paying for them directly or indirectly.

In the big cities, and in urban regions, the original settlements have become busy, bustling, disorderly, and inefficient centres—with the original land subdivision and road pattern hardly changed. The centres themselves are ringed by decaying areas. In most cases, as we were reminded this morning, they were the earliest suburban extensions. We are apt to forget that the suburbs of today are the city of tomorrow.

The old houses in the inner ring are used for many purposes, but the majority are crowded with people. For a great number of families there is no alternative to living in part of an old house, other than to get a cheap piece of land and build a cheap house on it. We do not

like the alternative, and we make it impossible through zoning and building by-laws. We hardly use existing legislation which enables low cost, low rental housing to be built on new land. As a consequence there is little or no assistance for families who need it most. The families who are assisted through N.H.A. are in the upper middle income range.

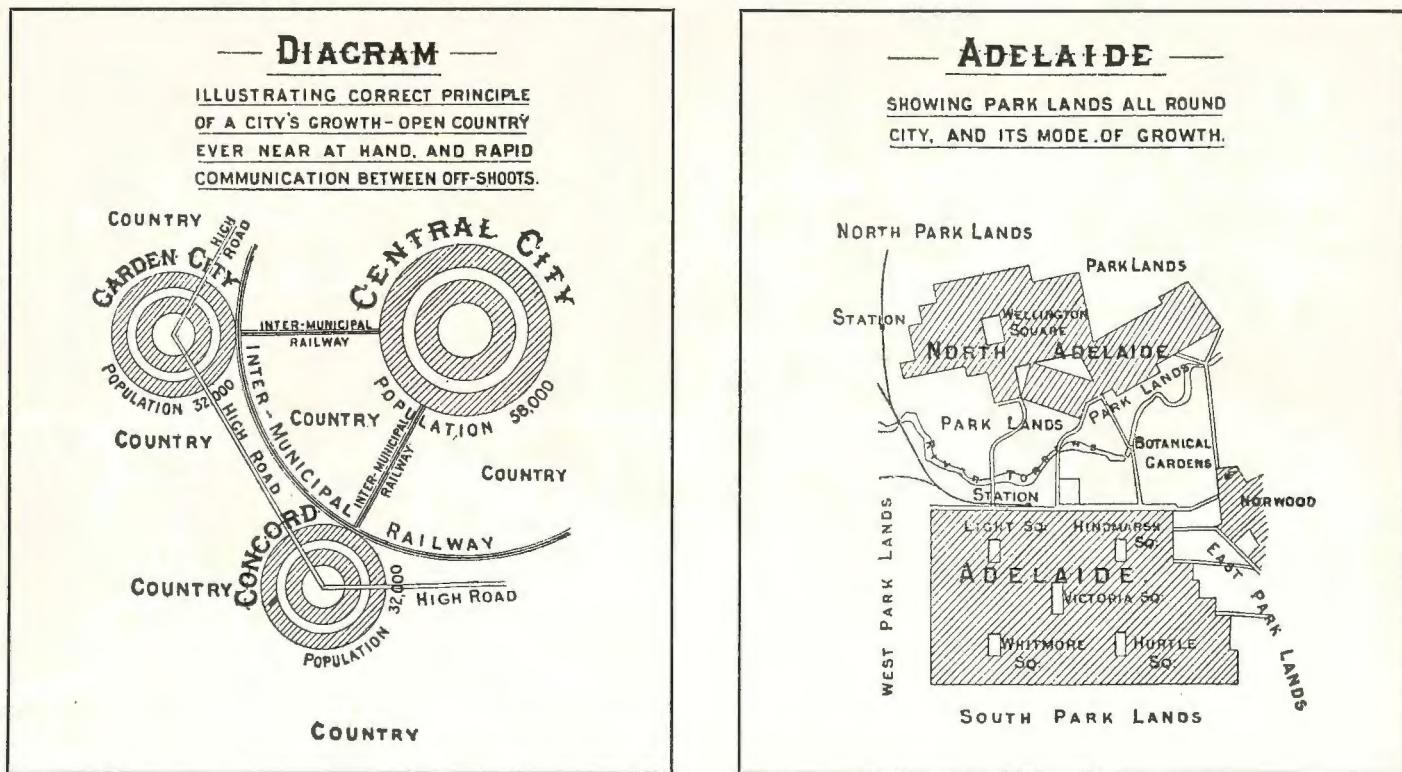
In the suburbs, and in the general world of ideas and concepts, modern industrialists, and the developers of industrial areas, are far less inhibited than those responsible for residential areas. They are less bound by "the small town notion". They are less bound for obvious reasons. There is no precedent and they build on a new scale. Many of the great suburban industrial estates are truly modern. The Province of Nova Scotia is taking steps to ensure the development of modern industrial estates. In the economic sense it is putting first things first. It may not be long before governments and industrialists take steps to ensure that there is adequate housing for industrial workers. There is precedent in the enlightened action of many nineteenth century industrialists.

The application of zoning by-laws and subdivision control is far from enough to ensure the development of good residential neighbourhoods for all kinds of families. We should be able to learn about the possibilities of more rational urban extension from Calgary and Edmonton. Oil came to the rescue of the province, large tracts of publicly owned land came to the rescue of the two main cities.

We are critical of the form and the cost of present day suburban growth. We are running into high costs, not only because of sprawl but also because of excessively low density quite appropriate for small towns, and not appropriate for bigger urban regions. Low density can be paid for only if you have the kind of planned or organized sprawl which climbs up the hill in West Vancouver for people who can at present afford it. Generally speaking, it can't be afforded. The situation in Toronto is that planned extensions are now so costly it is almost impossible to contemplate housing on open land in the suburbs for half the population.

At prevailing densities, the services, the roads, and the schools add greatly to the cost of the land, which now has a relatively high speculative value in most big urban regions. If one calculated how much of the land could in fact be used in a reasonable period of time, it would be found to be an unjustified value. Unfortunately, the systematic planning of extensions can further enlarge the tidal wave of speculative value.

As a result of financial difficulties others are compounded. What is happening in the suburban Toronto



EBENEZER HOWARD'S DRAWINGS IN HIS "GARDEN CITIES OF TO-MORROW"

area is that suburban governments, almost without exception, are zoning against reasonably priced housing—against sensible principles of metropolitan planning. They only want the best people and the biggest industries; an extraordinary state of affairs. I was talking to a highly intelligent man who is also a lawyer—I don't know that they always go together—and he was saying, "You just can't build houses because we won't be able to afford the schools." I said to him, "I have never yet seen houses going to school." Children go to school and they continue to increase in number at a surprising pace. It is nonsensical to think in financial terms of this kind.

Because for most people housing is far too high in price, there is a consistent doubling-up in new as well as in old housing areas. Standards are carefully prescribed in by-laws and by C.M.H.C. but, naturally, people have to double up if dwellings are not available. This means that many people are forced to break the law or do without shelter. If little laws are broken, it is a bad thing; morally the same as breaking big laws.

Perhaps in our discussions we will talk about a word that I shan't try to define—it is in the dictionaries: Density. We shall have to reconsider density standards. There are two extremes at the moment and very little in between. Generally, we build at excessively low densities as our cities move ever outward across the fields. In

redevelopment, we build at densities which are far too high. There has been a great battle going on in Toronto over new zoning standards. The proposal was to bring the maximum down from 1,000 to 350 persons per acre which, in my view, is an excessively high density. The 350, by some miracle, became a low density because it was related to an abstract notion of an impossible city. And yet we take it for granted that suburbs should spread at 15 or 16 persons per acre. Do we really want the inner parts of our cities to be built for troglodytes keeping large tin gods in asphalt floored canyons? Must the suburbs be an endless spread of country cottages with all streams in pipes and all cars in streams?

Variety is the spice of life and life is rich in variety. Always, in any good community, there has been a cross-section of the population; single people, young and old, married people with young children, married people with children who have grown up, and so on. Of course, there should be variety in any part of a town. The old towns gave us this. We are now building the same thousand houses over the same 250 acres from one end of a suburban belt to the other. We should be more imaginative and more creative not only about the financial side of housing, but also the social side, and perhaps we should get much better physical environment as a result.

I think we must assume that families with children should live in houses. A French child is a quiet little thing, is seen and not heard—I am thinking of Paris—and can live in an apartment. But I have not yet come across the North American child who will be other than a confounded nuisance in an apartment block. In redevelopment and in new development we should, perhaps, think of large numbers of apartments at ground level. This will lead us to our old friend the row house. Another name would possibly smell sweeter. But if we planned and used row houses intelligently, they could be an addition to the existing range, and easily double the density of suburban residential development, with a great saving in roads and in services, and with a great saving in distances between homes, schools, playfields and shops. It should be remarked that a row house is more economical to build and run than a detached house, and it has the great advantage of a garden space as compared with an ordinary apartment.

According to the advertisements, big apartment buildings are for bachelors, and families without children. I should not like the bachelor population to increase overmuch, but there will be a growing need for apartments for those without children in the larger urban centres, and they should not be confined only to downtown areas.

Mr. Mooney sketched the city of the future¹. I am going to risk describing this in rather more earthy terms and take as my theme the city for the family. With respect, I think the family of Jericho was not unlike the family of today. It was the same biological unit, probably moved by the same kind of feelings, passions and motives, although it lived in an age when technology and the social-political structure had a very different influence on the mode of life.

The man who has proposed the best solutions for the city of the future is still active in New York. He is Clarence Stein: a modest person, in the tradition established by a small group concerned with physical environment for family life in the modern city. Stein has further developed the work of others including Howard and Unwin in England. This morning, perhaps without knowing it, someone outlined Howard's concept of a central city with satellites. Stein, for many years in association with Henry Wright, not only studied and learned from others, but also managed to design and build certain fragments which demonstrate the practicability of a more sensible environment for the modern age. He and his associates properly recognized the motor car as a machine which is a wonderful servant but a destructive master. They put it where it belongs, with the

¹Our Cities: A New Perspective for New Dimensions, by George S. Mooney, COMMUNITY PLANNING REVIEW, December, 1957.



The aerial view of Baldwin Hills Village, Los Angeles, shows the contrast between the development according to the Radburn idea and the typical development to the north and south. The photo, by Fairchild Aerial Surveys Inc., is reproduced from *TOWARD NEW TOWNS FOR AMERICA* by Clarence Stein, first edition, University Press of Liverpool, 1951.

services. It is a most convenient service. It is not a little idol to be worshipped, or an example of folk art to stand on the front lawn to be admired.

Stein and Wright developed a layout system which, curiously enough, is accepted in part by developers of new shopping centres and is coming into our thinking about central areas. It is often described as the "Radburn system", as the first fragment is at Radburn, New Jersey. The best fragment, and probably the best modern housing arrangement in the world, is in Los Angeles, of all places. It is called Baldwin Hills Village, and is developed



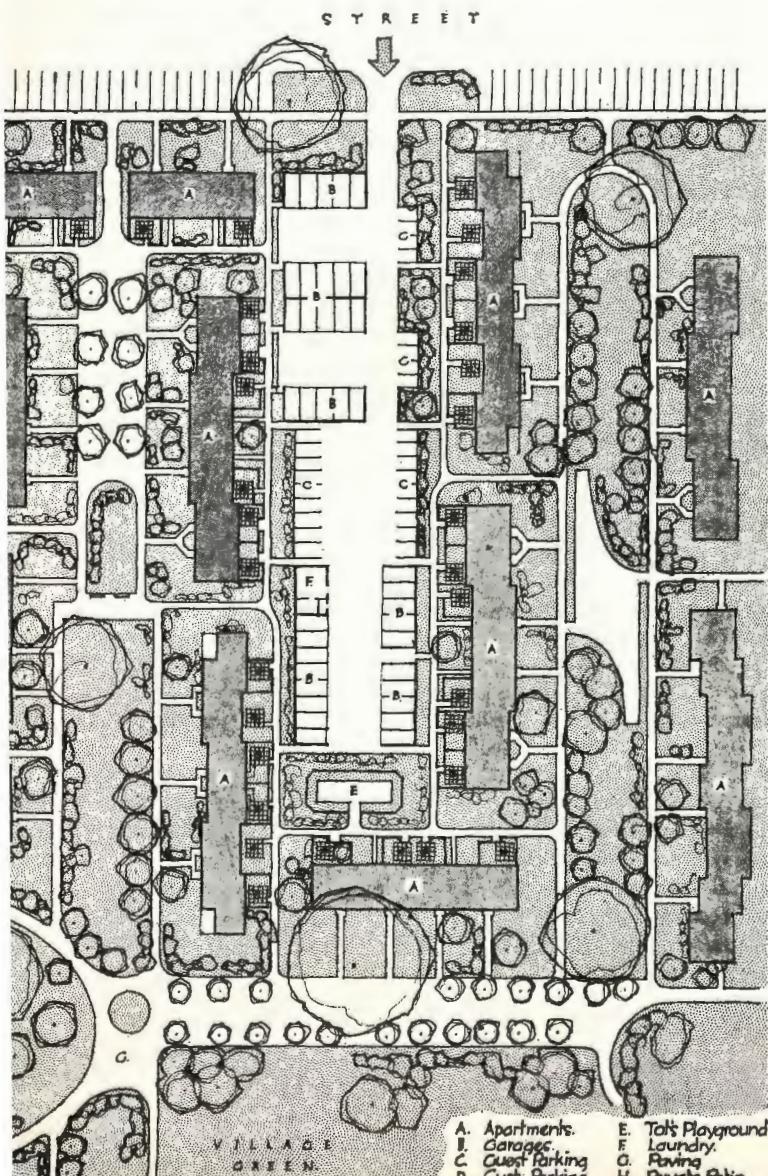
A GARDEN COURT IN BALDWIN HILLS VILLAGE, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA.

Reginald D. Johnson and Wilson, Merrill and Alexander: Associate Architects.

Clarence S. Stein,
Consulting Architect.

Photograph: Margaret Lowe

BALDWIN HILLS VILLAGE. Details of a Garage Court and two Garden Courts. From TOWARD NEW TOWNS FOR AMERICA, by Clarence S. Stein. (Below.)



at twice the density of the normal suburb, which in itself is significant. The concept is of a super-block with the cars kept to the perimeter, and coming in only to the series of service courts about which the houses are grouped. The inner part of the super-block is entirely park and play space. The whole of the inner part of the super-block is for pedestrians. This is a concept which is fairly old. It is the old university college quad. It is precisely what makes Venice a most wonderful city. Venice is a series of precincts—they happen to be islands—with all the vehicles moving on the edge of each precinct. The vehicles happen to be boats.

Baldwin Hills Village is a precursor of the residential unit of the future. Stein is now working on another concept—that of the regional city. In a fascinating manner he starts with the Baldwin Hills unit, and shows how it may be one of a group of similar units. He is able to demonstrate how cities of 20,000 or 100,000, or regions of millions of people may be built up and expanded with this new design unit. The basic residential element is a living area for several hundred families. The family unit remains, of course, and it is very much better placed in a system of this kind. It is safer, more attractive, more civilized.

Fundamental in the concept is the separation of pedestrian and vehicular traffic. I don't think anyone would disagree in principle with such an idea. Disagreement begins to appear when an attempt is made to put it into practice.

Land for development is being assembled by private enterprise in units which grow larger and larger. In the Toronto area they are up to some 6,000 acres. The scale is correct. Of equal interest is the fact that private enterprise appears to obey Howard's dictum in jumping

ENTRANCE SIDE OF ROW HOUSES.
BALDWIN HILLS VILLAGE.

Photograph: Margaret Lowe



across the broad belt of land held by speculators. In this way it is able to purchase at near agricultural values. Because of this it should be possible to produce lower cost housing, particularly if commercial and industrial development is within the scope of the large scale operation. As Howard argued, this gives a greater return and may be balanced with the residential.

With imaginative regional planning — so lacking at present — natural economic forces can be properly related to the public need. The region can become a constellation of communities with the great city as heart. The regional city may be sounder in every way than the city with endless, inchoate suburban growth. I see no valid reason why public bodies, especially provincial governments with federal cooperation under N.H.A., should not assist in the process of assembling land in the right places.

In the resulting new towns I think there should be residences of all kinds in well designed neighbourhoods. Some of the basic units will be industrial areas, and some commercial areas. I hope the commercial areas will be more than a string of shops floating in a vast car park. We need new suburban hearts as well as bodies. The old town centre, although generally obsolete in layout nowadays, was much more than a collection of shops.

A striking and alarming process, in most towns, is the rapid deterioration of areas for a number of reasons. The process is most obvious in the inner parts of the towns, but it is not confined to these. In much of our present development we are *building in* the obsolescence which we fear and try to ward off by zoning. We lose tremendously when obsolescence is *built in*. By not looking far enough ahead, not realizing what the relative location of the particular area will be in the long term, great social

as well as economic losses are incurred. The biggest loss of all in financial terms is in those areas which have run so far down hill that they have to be wiped out long before rebuilding is due. I could cite example after example in history of houses which are 200 years old, and as good now as when they were built. In fact they are sometimes the "best" houses in town. In North America, for example, in Quebec City and in some of the New England villages near Boston, houses between 100 and 200 years old are now very "pricey" — if I may use that term.

The concept of built-in obsolescence should be fought. When I hear people talking about houses and schools being out of date in 25 years, I know they are rapid-fire speculators, or they have been misled by somebody who is; and the concept of built-in obsolescence is a god-send to jerry builders.

There is a general misapprehension that the problem of the provision of low cost housing may be solved by clearing and rebuilding slum areas. I think the provision of low cost housing and slum clearance should be considered quite separately. Slum areas, even though they are the only places in which some people can afford to live, must be cleared because they are slum areas — and a drain on the public purse as such. The worst slums, more often than not, will be where there are pressures for change of land use.

The most expensive way to provide low rental housing is in cleared downtown areas. It has always been so in all parts of the world, and it is being demonstrated in Canada that it is. The low rent housing which may result is not to be confused with low cost housing. Heavy subsidies have to be used to bring rents down. In relation to the real problem of low cost housing, clearance oper-

ations could never do more than put a couple of drops of low rental housing into every urban bucket. In Toronto, for example, the population is growing at the rate of some 50 thousand a year. The slum clearance schemes cannot re-house more than a few hundred a year. Please note "re-house"—as houses, however poor, have to be pulled down. Because of this the net gain in the housing stock may be infinitesimal.

I see the beginning of the solution of many problems, including that of sprawl, as a massive provision of low cost housing on new land. It is the only way in which low cost housing can be provided. In many urban regions land will have to be assembled for the purpose. There won't be many cities as lucky as Calgary and Edmonton were with their large holdings of publicly owned land. Perhaps we shouldn't say "assemble". We might use the Australian word which is "resume". The Crown resumes the land. There is a rather nice difference in emphasis.

New attitudes and new objectives are required in planning. Or, perhaps, it would be more correct to say that we should return to the philosophy of the pioneers in modern planning. Their frame of reference was based on human values in relation to material progress. Now we are too easily obsessed by technological developments taken out of context. It would seem that problems created by the car get a thousand times more thought than those related to children. We seem to be hypnotized by the millions of four wheeled mechanical aids we have turned loose on the roads. They cause us to produce vast reports, and to expend hundreds of millions of dollars on "improvements" which mutilate cities and start a chain reaction of new problems. We seem to forget that there are more ways than one of moving from place to place. Shank's pony is very effective for short distances—he is a health giving animal—and private and public wheeled transport should be considered together. Solutions will come when hard calculations are made. There will be no solution if prejudice loads the dice. Public or private transport is a service or convenience. It should not rule our lives to the detriment of life itself.

We should think more and more in terms of the family, of human beings, their likes and desires, their attitudes and needs. Professor Leonard Marsh, and one or two other speakers, made the point this morning.

Lewis Mumford, the most important philosopher of planning, wrote a short paper called "Planning for the Phases of Life". It was based on an address given at a planning conference in New York. Strangely, the first he had ever addressed. In it he examines the phases of life, beginning with the young mother and the baby in the pram, and then the pre-school child, the child at school and in adolescence. I will pause for a minute. Can anybody honestly say we have been building town extensions properly designed for the mother and children? I don't know of one other than the urban fragments based on the "Radburn" principle. In them the automobile serves all the dwellings. It does not dominate life.

Children grow up to become young married couples. The cycle of life continues but recommences. The great tragedy for many young couples is that there is no housing available. Half of them have to start this all important phase in rooms, and I don't believe God ever intended two women to share a kitchen.

Overcrowding and life in rooms induces mental ill-health. Juvenile delinquency is a form of mental ill-health. It seems to be most intractable in areas of inadequate housing and congestion. Children are more vigorous than they used to be. They are healthier and better fed. It is doubtful if they are better housed. They need space and outlets for vigorous activity.

The cycle continues: the family ages and the children depart. The parents may not want to leave the neighbourhood but they need a different kind of accommodation. In any case it would make sense for them to be somewhere near their married children. Amongst other considerations, there is no baby sitter better than a grandmother or grandfather. I have learned that. But we zone them out. We mistakenly assume that property values are more important than human values—and we build schools for "humps" of children who disappear. We wonder why life is dull in the suburbs and why wives are lonely.

Then at the end of the cycle is old age and senility. What allowance are we making for the aged; this growing, important section of the population? I don't know a suburb or a subdivision where they are taken into account in the thinking that is sometimes mistaken for planning. I know that in the Netherlands old people's houses are built in the right places, near the primary schools, because the life cycle is a circle.

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CURLING, now part of the City of Corner Brook, is an example of linear development, spread along the coast line for a distance of almost four miles.

PLANNING FOR SMALL TOWNS IN NEWFOUNDLAND

by Honourable S. J. Hefferton

Mr. Hefferton, now Minister of Public Welfare for Newfoundland, was Minister of Municipal Affairs and Supply from 1953 to 1957. He is a National Councillor of the Community Planning Association of Canada.

How big is a small town, and is it just a matter of population and area? This is the first question that came to mind when I was asked to write on this subject.

Statistics show that of the 1300 or so communities in Newfoundland, only the cities of St. John's and Corner Brook have populations in excess of 10,000, whereas 1,034 have a population of less than 500. I decided therefore to confine my remarks principally to the towns which fall in between these two groups.

For the benefit of those readers who have not visited our province, I should like to describe briefly the settle-

ment pattern in Newfoundland and the topographical and historical factors which have affected it.

Newfoundland is a plateau, slightly tilted at its western edge, the soil and vegetation of which were scraped off and deposited on the Grand Banks during the Wisconsin glacial period, leaving the island bare and barren. True soils have not had time to form since then, and the central section of the island is to a large extent still barren. Some alluvial soils have been deposited in the river valleys and it is here and along the coast that settlement has taken place.



CLARKE'S BEACH, a settlement of 500 people on the shores of Conception Bay. An example of scattered development which will prevent the provision of modern services for many years to come.

As one might expect, the historical development of the island has had a considerable influence upon the establishment of communities. For two hundred years, from the middle of the 17th to the middle of the 19th century, settlement in Newfoundland was forbidden by law, and although this did not completely prevent settlement, it had a marked scattering effect, with the result that the most remote and inaccessible coves and inlets along the coastline became ideal hiding places for families wishing to settle during those times.

To sail completely around the Island would necessitate a journey of some 2,000 miles, but to walk around the coastline would take you a distance of 6,000 miles, so numerous are the bays and inlets. It is not surprising therefore that five sixths of the communities in the province have a population of less than 500. The reasons for the increased development of some communities and not others are numerous. Some have better harbour facilities and have become ports of call and terminals for the coastal boats, others are located near timber stands and have become logging centres. Mining activities, railheads, and airports have all played their part in the development of larger towns, but it is important to remember that all the activities mentioned above have taken place during the last half century, and the towns, thus developed and extended, are all extremely young. In 1901, there were only 57 towns with a population of more than 500 and only one in excess of 5,000.

The small communities of fifty years ago had no need for an organized system of local government, and the first incorporation other than St. John's was as recent as 1942. This lack of a traditional local government has

had a serious effect on the planned development of small towns and is now one of our major problems, because to be effective, planning schemes and planning control must have the backing of an efficient and sympathetic administration. The Department of Municipal Affairs, which is also responsible for planning within the province, is making every effort to encourage the growth of civic administration throughout the province to alleviate this situation, but traditions cannot be created overnight.

SCATTER

Probably the next biggest problem now facing us is "scatter". By that I mean the uncontrolled scattering of the dwellings within a community, over a wide area. In a large proportion of our small towns, houses have been built at a considerable distance from the centre of the town and at a very low density, and it is often impossible, due to the slow rate of growth of these towns to effect an immediate improvement by planning. The provision of utilities and other municipal services, such as street lighting, snow clearance, and garbage collection, has to wait until such time as increased development makes this provision an economic possibility.

The system of land tenure indirectly causes us many headaches when attempting to control new, and to improve existing, development. Long narrow belts of land, usually up the slope, have in the past been developed for residential use, with complete disregard to topography or community living.

There are of course many other problems, particularly those related to the amenities of life, such as parks, play-



POR-T-AUX-BASQUES on the southwest coast with a population of 3,278 is made up of small pockets of development such as this. Planned improvements are almost impossible.

grounds, recreational buildings, churches and schools, but they no doubt exist also in many towns throughout the Dominion and I am sure that you are just as familiar with them as I.

Planning in Newfoundland is administered by the Provincial Planning Office of the Department of Municipal Affairs, and *Town Planning* with which we are particularly concerned today, can be accomplished in accordance with the *Urban and Rural Planning Act* in one of several ways.

In incorporated communities, the local council makes its own resolutions to plan and the plan may then be prepared, either by a private consultant or by the town itself, or in some cases by arrangement with the province.

Two or more towns may be declared by the Minister to be a Joint Planning Area, and a Joint Planning Authority is then set up to administer the planning of the area on behalf of the councils.

In both these cases public inquiries are held, and ministerial approval is required before the plan becomes law. Once approved, however, the plan is just as binding upon the council as it is upon the individual. Provincial approval is also required to amend the plan, which must be brought up to date and reviewed every five years. In unincorporated areas, the Minister can declare Local Planning Areas and instruct the Provincial Planning Advisory Board to prepare plans in the same manner as a local council.

The important and practical point to be borne in mind, however, is that, unless the town plan proves itself to be desirable and acceptable as such by the great majority of

the citizens, then administration is extremely difficult and, regardless of all rules and regulations, planning will not produce the desired effect. From experience in Newfoundland, I have discovered that in order to produce a workable plan for any community, we must first promote the idea of planning, then create a practical and soundly-based plan; and finally administer it with firmness and tact. These three phases, promotion, creation and administration, are the formula to which we work.

Several of our small towns are at present preparing planning schemes of one kind or another, and I should like to illustrate the diversity of their problems by telling you about one or two of them.

MT. PEARL PARK - GLENDALE

About five miles to the west of St. John's is the recently incorporated Town of Mt. Pearl Park - Glendale. This town has a population of approximately 2,000 and has developed entirely during the post war period. Mt. Pearl began its life as a summer cabin resort, but within a very short time had the makings of a permanent community. Glendale, which abuts the western boundary of Mt. Pearl was originally a large tract of wood-land and under one ownership. The owner, noting the demand for building land in Mt. Pearl, decided to develop it as a residential estate. The town, which was incorporated in January, 1955, consequently has two distinct development characteristics. The Mt. Pearl section is a straggling development with long cul-de-sacs leading off one principal road. Glendale, on the other hand, is compact, but has developed to a grid-iron pattern, which bears no relationship to the topography of the ground.

PLANNING FOR SMALL TOWNS IN NEWFOUNDLAND

Since its first inception, the community has been plagued with a water and sewerage problem which has worsened yearly. As soon as the first Council was elected, it immediately set to work to install water and sewerage utilities and appointed a firm of consultant engineers to design a suitable system for them. The engineers, having looked at the area, suggested to the Council that before a water and sewerage system could be designed to take care of the future needs of the town, it would be desirable to prepare a Municipal Plan. At the request of the Council, the Provincial Planning Department agreed to prepare a Plan on their behalf.

Planning for this community was not such a formidable task as was expected. Fortunately, Mt. Pearl was able to be rounded off into a reasonably compact neighbourhood, and Glendale was made to fit more snugly into the terrain, and to tie in satisfactorily with Mt. Pearl. The population, it was estimated, would double within the ten year period of the plan, and the consultants were able to prepare their designs for water and sewerage facilities and to allow for this increase.

If the story ended here, we would have a text-book example of the benefits of planning to small towns; but there is one snag which at the moment appears to be unanswerable. Estimates for the installation of water and sewerage services, which include the water works and sewerage disposal plant, total somewhere in the region of 1½ million dollars. The present population cannot be expected to raise such a large sum of money, although in five or ten years time, if the community continues to grow at its present rate, there should be no difficulty. The problem therefore, is that without water and sewerage facilities the community cannot be allowed to grow without the risk of becoming a public health menace. On the other hand, if it does not grow it can't possibly afford the services. Perhaps someone can supply me with an answer?

GANDER

There are very few people today who have not heard of Gander. It is often referred to by airline companies as the "Crossroads of the World" and is the eastern terminal of the North American Airways System. The town is situated in central Newfoundland, and its development has been unique in our experience, in fact I know of no parallel elsewhere in Canada.

Gander was built in 1939 as a civilian airport, but before it had much time to develop as such, World War II intervened, and it became an operational base and later an important link in the Ferry service from North America to the United Kingdom. During this time the aerodrome became ringed with an assortment of temporary buildings designed to house men, planes and equipment. The nearest town was Glenwood, which is a small logging town, situated some 30 miles to the west and reached only over a gravel road. After the war, the

development of Gander as an International Airport was rapid, and the increasing number of personnel required to operate the terminal were housed with their families in converted air force buildings. By 1952, the Department of Transport found it necessary to plan a considerable expansion of the airport facilities, which meant that a large number of temporary buildings would have to be removed. After considerable discussion with the Provincial Government, the Department of Transport decided that a town of Gander should be built completely clear of the airport. The Provincial Government acquired the necessary land immediately west of the airport, and Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation agreed to act as agents for the Department of Transport and to plan the new town.

I have been told that town planners dream of opportunities such as this, where they can put into effect their own conception of how a town should grow without being hampered by existing development and with the whole townsite under one ownership. In this case, the opportunity was not lost, and, before the site was cleared, a plan for the entire town was completed.

Since that time, the town of Gander has risen out of the bush and at present accommodates some 3,000 persons. Gander today, although incomplete, has all the facilities required by a town of its size. It is built in accordance with a comprehensive plan and is an example to all other communities of the advantage of town planning.

WABANA

Wabana, which is situated on Bell Island in Conception Bay, is a mining town with a population of approximately 8,000. The iron ore mine was originally opened in 1894, and Wabana is therefore one of the oldest mining communities in the province. Planning was little known at that time and the town developed around the mine shafts and along the adjoining iron ore outcrop. The methods of mining at that time required the use of a large amount of manual labour and consequently attracted a rough and tough assortment of labourers, who were satisfied with the minimum housing needs and were not in the least interested in the amenities of their surroundings. Since those times, as is natural to expect, the town has improved beyond recognition, but the basic faults which were created when the town began its life some sixty-three years ago are still evident today. The siting of the town around the mine shafts and on the outcrop, which has since been excavated to a depth of over 100 feet, has resulted in the town being split into two by a deep gorge and everlastingly coated with red haematite dust. The other basic fault which is still a problem today is the haphazard siting of buildings on oddly-shaped lots, many of which do not even front on to the road.

Once again, planning was not considered until it became an absolute necessity to install a water and sewerage system, and in this instance the local council

WABANA—*Bell Island. Another example of scattered development—too scattered to service economically but not enough to prevent pollution.*



have engaged a firm of consulting engineers and planners to prepare a Municipal Plan and a water and sewerage scheme. As already mentioned, planning schemes cannot be forced upon a community that is not ready to accept them, and in this particular instance the Province has instigated a public relations program designed, not only to instruct the local population in the ways and means of planning, but to create there if possible, a demand for, and a willingness to contribute to, the improvement of the town. To assist in this project the Newfoundland Division of the Community Planning Association of Canada are endeavouring to organize a local branch in Wabana and have already elected members from that town to their provincial executive. This is a project which is being followed with great interest, and it is hoped that by these means the local branches of C.P.A.C. can play an important part in the development of these small towns.

LEWISPORTE

Lewisporte, a community of approximately 2,000, is an important coastal shipping terminal on the north-east coast. It is perhaps one of the best developed communities in Newfoundland and successfully operates its own electricity, water and sewerage utilities. As one of the quickest growing towns in the province, it is aware of the need for a well planned expansion program, and the local council are well on the way to the completion of their Municipal Plan, which is being prepared by private consultants. The problems in Lewisporte are not as acute as those in many other communities; but it is heartening to see that places such as this are fully aware of their responsibilities and are taking determined steps to provide for the future.

LA SCIE

At the beginning of this talk, I said that I would deal with communities having a population of between 500 and 10,000 persons. So far I have only dealt with towns in

the middle and higher brackets of this group, and I should like now to say a few words about one community at the lower end of the scale. The community that I have chosen to represent this group is La Scie, which has a population of approximately 700. It is situated on the north-east coast and is primarily dependent upon fishing to maintain its livelihood. At present, communication with other parts of the province is by sea or light plane only, although a road is planned for the not-too-distant future. The Provincial Government is erecting a large fish plant there and the town is expected to become a centre for the fishing industry in the district. The town at present is considered too small to operate its own Council, and a Local Improvement Board has been appointed in the meantime. To prepare a complete Municipal Plan for this community would not be difficult, but it is unlikely that it could be administered satisfactorily at present. The Province has therefore designed an extension to the town which will be capable of absorbing the expected increase of population due to the erection of a fish plant. The essence of this scheme is simplicity, so that the Local Improvement Board can administer it with some degree of assistance from the Province.

HAPPY VALLEY

Before concluding my remarks, I should like to mention Labrador, which as you know is part of our province and accounts for more than two-thirds of its area. As one might expect, there are few communities in Labrador of sufficient size to be called even a small town, but one new and rapidly growing town is worthy of mention and that is Happy Valley near Goose Bay. There is a slight similarity between Happy Valley and Gander in that they have both developed as a result of airport construction. During the recent war, Goose aerodrome was constructed entirely for military use, and a large area of land surrounding it was restricted from development. However, it was soon found necessary to provide quarters for



LA SCIE. A small fishing outpost in North-eastern Newfoundland where a large fish plant is now under construction. The village is one of those selected for expansion and consequent centralization of scattered isolated communities.

civilian labour employed on the construction and operation of the airfield. An area known as Happy Valley was set aside for this purpose, and persons employed by the base were allowed to build houses there for their families.

The area was not planned for development but one road was bulldozed out of the bush. A few years ago, the airforce authorities decided that they were not equipped to administer a civilian township and requested the Provincial Government to take over its administration. This was done and a Local Improvement Board was set up. The preparation of a Municipal Plan was again out of the question but the Province, which owned the land in the area, planned and constructed an extensive subdivision adjoining the existing development and is granting lots at a nominal charge to applicants who are prepared to build to certain standards. It is hoped by these means to develop eventually a town which will become an economic and self-supporting proposition.

I have attempted to convey to you the way in which we are tackling the development of small towns in Newfoundland. As you know, each individual town has its own characteristics and there is no set pattern which can be applied to them all. We are attempting, however, to apply sound judgment to each individual case, and we hope that by producing only such work as is soundly based and of practical application, we may in time create towns that are better places to live in as a result of our efforts.

MANITOBA: Planning Assistance to Communities Outside the Greater Winnipeg Area

by S. George Rich

Mr. Rich is Associate Planner of the Metropolitan Planning Commission of Greater Winnipeg.

During the past ten years there has been a growing realization in the communities outside the Greater Winnipeg area that some form of technical planning assistance was needed. This realization of the need for planning was due in no small part to the efforts of the Manitoba Division of the Community Planning Association of Canada, who, by a continuous program of lectures, conferences and informal discussions with local governments and community leaders, demonstrated how planning could prevent many of the municipal problems which result from lack of forethought in the development of a community.

The success of the Manitoba Division's campaign was shown by the number of resolutions by Municipal associations, Chambers of Commerce and others, urging the Provincial Government to provide some form of technical planning assistance.

In 1957, the Provincial Government approached the Metropolitan Planning Commission of Greater Winnipeg to see if the technical knowledge and experience of the Commission's staff could not be made available to other communities in the Province. On April 5th, 1957, the *Metropolitan Planning Act* was amended to provide for a Provincial Planning Service under the direction of the Metropolitan Planning Commission. The Provincial Planning Service would give to any municipality in the Province outside Greater Winnipeg, on request, the same technical service that was provided to the member municipalities of the Metropolitan Planning Commission.

It should be emphasized that the Provincial Planning Service is an advisory organization and a municipality is not required to use the service or to act on the advice given. This reflects the basic principal that the desire to plan must originate at the local level.

MINNEDOSA, one of the communities which is planning with the technical assistance of the new Provincial Planning Service.



Photo: Department of Industry and Commerce, Province of Manitoba

Once a municipality has expressed a wish for planning assistance it enters into an agreement with the Provincial Government. This agreement is simple and provides for:

(a) the appointment of a local planning commission with the responsibility for furthering the planning work in that community and to serve as a liaison between the planning service and the municipal council;

(b) the appointment of a planning commission secretary to serve as an official contact between the local planning commission and the planning service;

(c) the guarantee of the Minister to see that the planning service will perform the planning functions as outlined in the *Metropolitan Planning Act*;

(d) the establishment of a minimum agreement term of three years in order that there will be sufficient time for the drafting of a community development plan and the implementation of that plan in legislative form;

(e) an agreement by the municipality to pay to the Province an annual sum of twenty cents per capita for each year of the agreement. This amount represents a fair share of the cost of the service, the balance of the cost of the service being borne by the Provincial Government.

The amendment to the *Metropolitan Planning Act* also gives to municipalities the authority to levy the amounts required annually to meet their share of the cost of the service.

David G. Henderson, formerly City Planner for Fort William, joined the staff of the Metropolitan Planning Commission in February 1957 as Associate Planner to be

responsible for the work of the Provincial Planning Service under the supervision of Eric W. Thrift, Director of the Metropolitan Planning Commission. At the beginning it was decided that those working on Provincial problems would not form a separate section of the Metropolitan Planning Commission staff but that Provincial Planning Service would use those staff members with special experience of zoning, land use, subdivision design and other phases of planning work, as required. For example, the first task of the Provincial Planning Service has been to prepare accurate base maps of the communities using the service. These maps have been prepared in a very short time by staff who had gained experience preparing similar maps for the member municipalities of the Metropolitan Planning Commission.

By the end of 1957, twelve communities had entered into agreements with the Province to use the service; they vary from small agricultural service centres like Cartwright with a population of some 450, to the City of Portage la Prairie with a population of 10,500, and include communities like The Pas with special problems due to geographic location and an economy based largely on the fur trade, mining, lumbering, fishing and agriculture. The economic base of the majority of communities is agriculture but there are one or two who are dependent on the tourist industry.

In addition to the twelve communities already mentioned, a number of others have expressed interest. In each case this has happened as a result of hearing from neighbouring communities of the work that the service is doing for them. Neither the Provincial Government nor the Provincial Planning Service has actively promoted the use of the service. It was considered wise to allow the



The wide main street of Portage la Prairie.

Photo: Department of Industry and Commerce

service to expand gradually and establish a reputation based on achievement. At a recent conference of the Manitoba Urban Association, the mayor of one of the municipalities already using the service expressed the need for planning in far more forceful terms than the planners themselves would have considered it advisable to use.

Soon after its formation the Provincial Planning Service was given the responsibility for planning the new townsite of Thompson. This town is to be developed by the International Nickel Company under an agreement with the Provincial Government, whereby the Company will plan and provide the services and facilities for a town of some 8,000 people as part of the development of the sources of nickel at Moak and Mystery Lakes in northern Manitoba. In addition to the design problems in connection with the development of this project, the Provincial Planning Service has taken part in numerous discussions with the International Nickel Company, the Central Mortgage & Housing Corporation and private developers, all of whom have, or will have, an interest in the townsite. The plan that is evolving reflects the ideas and experience of these and others who have experience of the social and economic conditions in northern mining towns. The Provincial Planning Service has also worked closely with Underwood McLellan & Associates, consulting civil engineers for the project.

The layout of the townsite has been designed to allow for the special system of services that is required as a result of climatic and subsoil conditions. In this way it is hoped that the problems that result from trying to fit an unconventional layout of services into a pre-designed street pattern will be avoided.

It is too early to make a realistic appraisal of the work of the Provincial Planning Service. It is hoped that an annual progress report will be made in the future and this will give an opportunity for a critical review of the past year's work.

So far, base maps have been compiled for ten communities, land use surveys for twelve communities have been completed, and maps recording existing services have been prepared. Data relating to economic and social conditions have been assembled and studies of population and economic growth have been started.

In addition to the major task of completing a community survey, which will form the basis of a land use plan and zoning legislation, the Provincial Planning Service has taken every opportunity to demonstrate the way in which technical planning advice can be of value in nearly every phase of local government activity. These opportunities have ranged from the design of small residential subdivisions to a report on the suitability of the suggested location for an oil refinery and have included the drafting of a by-law, and advice on administrative procedures in the subdivision of land.

The Provincial Planning Service does not administer the Manitoba *Town Planning Act* and will not, therefore, find itself in the anomalous position of having to approve zoning and other plans prepared by itself.

The basic principle—that sound planning will result when the desire to plan originates with the local government—has already been stated and the advisory role of the service has been emphasized. We are aware that planning by persuasion is a slow method but we feel that patience is one of the planner's most necessary qualities. We also realize that there will be times when planning by advice and persuasion will fail and recourse to an arbitration body will be necessary. We are confident, however, that the effects of the Provincial Planning Service in future years will demonstrate the validity of this basic principle.

How much would you pay

for a good basic library on planning in or for Canadian communities?
See the back cover pages of this issue and write for other suggestions
regarding free or inexpensive literature for your own use or
for citizen groups in your area.

Community Planning Association of Canada
77 MacLaren Street, Ottawa 4

PLANNING FOR CORNER BROOK

Canada's Newest Planning Legislation in Action

by Stanley H. Pickett and J. T. Allston

Second (concluding) Part

EDITOR'S NOTE. Newfoundland's URBAN AND RURAL PLANNING ACT has some unusual features. It requires a flexible plan, an outline of by-laws or regulations needed for implementation, a phased program of development by both public and private developers, and an estimate of capital expenditure on public works related to the financial capacity of the municipality.

The first operative plan under this Act is that for the City of Corner Brook. We feel that an account of planning under this legislation in an area having some unusual problems of political organization will be of general interest. The first part of the article appeared in the last (December) issue of the REVIEW.

(iii) **Open Space.** The city is almost totally devoid of public open space. There is a small area subdivided by streets, at what may be called the cultural centre of the townsite, where two public halls, a Roman Catholic Church, a hotel, a movie theatre and a hospital are grouped loosely around an attractive Green. There is a playing field in Corner Brook West and a rather inadequate area is held for a playfield on the eastern plateau. The most prominent private open space is a magnificently located golf course rising behind the townsite to a height of nearly 500 feet and commanding a beautiful and extensive view over the city to the Bay of Islands.

CORNER BROOK looking west along the shoreline to Curling. The Trans-Canada Highway runs across the bottom of the photograph and the Ball Diversion winds around Corner Brook West to Curling. The high escarpment immediately below the paper mills is recommended in the Municipal Plan for use as

Corner Brook is fortunate in that the deficiency of open spaces is capable of remedy. The survey disclosed a number of vacant areas suitable for parks and playing fields. One area on the steep hillside above the escarpment in Townsite appears particularly well suited to a natural park which could have splendid outlooks and walks. Some indication of the difficulty of finding land for any purpose in Curling may be gained from the fact that in all its great area it has proved virtually impossible to find an area large enough and level enough to be made into even the most modest playing field.

a natural park. The valley of the Corner Brook running from left to right across the centre of the photograph includes areas of great natural beauty, one of which is already being developed for recreational purposes.

Photo: A. E. Simpson Ltd.



PLANNING FOR CORNER BROOK

(iv) **Residential Areas and Population Growth.** In a geographical study of the Corner Brook area made in 1954, William C. Wonders estimated that the population of the Humber district in which Corner Brook stands "increased by 20% between 1920 and 1935 and by 36% between 1935 and 1945 compared with 10% and 11% respectively in Newfoundland as a whole". The census figures from 1901 to 1951 are shown in the following table which also includes an estimate of populations as they were in 1954, the year of the planning survey. The total population in each census year is that of the area of the present city of Corner Brook. Variations in the areas from census to census are due to the gradual evolution of local government throughout the area.

TABLE OF POPULATION GROWTH

	1901	1911	1921	1935	1945	1951	Estimated 1954
Corner Brook	256	382	411	6374	8711	...	.....
Humbermouth	...	229	369	1248	1914	1225†
Corner Brook West	...	...	...	...	...	6831	7749
Corner Brook East	...	...	...	...	...	3445	5400
Townsite	...	...	...	...	...	2825	3107
Curling	597	*	569	981	1264	3558	4083
Totals	853	*	1349	8603	11889	17884	20339

†Humbermouth included in Corner Brook East after incorporation in that town—1952.

*Accurate figures not available.

The residential areas were not well related to each other due to the difficult topography and the way in which the city had grown around the company townsite. Furthermore, with the exception of Townsite, the pattern of building was completely haphazard. This led inevitably to most uneconomic residential areas from the point of view of the provision of services and utilities. In each of the areas there was a fringe development straggling away from the community up into the hills. The effects of this scattered and totally unplanned growth can be judged from these two facts. Firstly, the city of Corner Brook with a population of just over 20,000 people had within its boundaries over two-thirds the mileage of streets within the city boundaries of St. John's, which had a population of about 57,000 at that time. In Corner Brook East, it was estimated that to provide snow ploughing service to a handful of houses in the Maple Valley area was taking as long, and costing as much, as it would have taken to plough the main coast road throughout the whole length of the town.

The obvious needs were for better definition and inter-relationship of residential areas and strict control of the scattered development which was universal around the periphery of the city, although particularly evident in two areas, Maple Valley in Corner Brook East and Elizabeth Street near the old town boundary between Townsite and Corner Brook West.

Land suitable for residential expansion is scarce. In order that the best use could be made of that available, a careful study was made to determine how much land would be needed during the ten years 1954-64. The rate of growth of population had averaged 4% per annum from 1951 to 1954. These years had, however, been unusual in that they had seen the establishment of two industries of some size, with a resulting attraction to immigrant workers. It was thought unlikely that such an industrial expansion would occur again on the same scale. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics estimated that the annual rate of natural growth for Corner Brook was 2.9%. It was decided to estimate the population in 1964 by assuming a rate of increase over ten years of 3% per annum. Applying this to the estimated 1954 population, the projection indicated about 27,050 residents in 1964, an increase of just over 6,700.

The survey showed a population density of 17 persons per acre and a net residential density of 3.2 dwellings per acre. In an attempt to "thicken up" and thus make more economic the existing residential areas, it was decided to plan for an average population density of 32 persons per acre and a net residential density of 6 dwellings per acre, the average household in the area being 5.3 persons. In view of the extremely scattered pockets of building in Curling, most of the new homes there would inevitably be infilling between existing buildings and it was therefore thought unlikely that the net residential density in that area would exceed four houses to the acre.

The land required for residential purposes from 1954-1964 was therefore:—

	Estimated Population Increase	Dwellings Required	Acreage Required
Corner Brook	5592	1050	175
Curling	1117	209	51
Total	6709	1259	226

(v) **Blighted Areas and Areas Unsuitable for Development.** The survey disclosed two blighted areas, one between Broadway and the shoreline in Corner Brook West and the other between the shoreline and the coast road just within the boundaries of Curling at Crow Gulch. The latter is a shack slum to which access is gained by walking along the C.N.R. track. The site is much too steep and rocky for any form of redevelopment and complete clearance is the only possible solution.

An area high on the side of 'Old Crow' in Corner Brook West is also unsuitable for development, being both beyond the reach of the utilities and on land which is altogether too steep for any real improvement in environment to be effected.

(C) HIGHWAYS AND STREETS.

Of the many problems which beset the Corner Brook municipalities there can be no doubt that the construction and maintenance of roads was the most perplexing. In 1954

the road pattern was based on three major routes and the connecting links between them. The most important road was the old coast highway running parallel to the shoreline from Humbermouth through to Mount Moriah. This road was narrow, winding, steep in places and everywhere formed the spine of two continuous lines of ribbon development. This road was maintained as a Provincial Highway at the expense of the Provincial Government but the standards of its construction precluded the maintenance of even a tolerable traffic route, particularly during the spring thaw period.

The second important road was that known as the Ball Diversion, running south-westwards from the bank of the Corner Brook behind the built-up areas of Corner Brook West and then entering Curling from the South. This road was intended to relieve the pressure of traffic on the coast road, particularly through the Broadway commercial area. The alignment did not attract traffic however, for two reasons, firstly the diversion was much too long for all save traffic bound for West Curling, and secondly it was very difficult to get onto the road at its eastern end due to its incomplete condition. Furthermore, until carried over the Corner Brook, this road did nothing to alleviate conditions at the greatest bottleneck on the coast road—the bridge over that stream.

The last of the major roads in 1954 was the Trans-Canada Highway, which skirted the city on the south-east thus enabling Lear's Road and East Valley Road to be lines of access to the city centre. The network of principal roads was completed by five linking streets, of which Country Road from the Ball Diversion to the coast road and West Street-East Valley Road from the coast road to the Trans-Canada Highway were the most important.

The defects noted in the network of the principal streets whilst serious were perhaps not as vexatious to the administrations as were the problems posed by the minor residential streets. The total lack of system in subdivision had led to a large number of approximately parallel streets running at right angles to the principal roads, often as little as one hundred feet apart and sited with complete disregard for the natural slope of the ground. Most of these streets were of primitive construction, having no adequate drainage and being well below minimum design requirements. It was not unusual in both Corner Brook East and Corner Brook West to see, as the aftermath of a heavy rainstorm, great ruts running as rivers along the whole length of these streets, with the gravel and stones of which the street had been constructed deposited as a miniature moraine across the connecting highways. The problem of highways and streets in 1954 could, therefore be summarized as: inadequate widths and construction standards, lack of proper subdivision, lack of design in the relationship of street to street.

(D) EMPLOYMENT.

The most important source of employment in Corner Brook is of course the pulp and paper mills, where some 2,000 persons are employed. To those may be added approximately 350 seasonal workers. These figures account for slightly less than 50% of the total number of persons employed in the city. It is interesting to note that a city established as a company town has grown to such a size and



Photo: Doris Parsons

HUMBER VALLEY. *The Humber River as it cuts through the tilted edge of the Newfoundland Plateau has created one of the most beautiful valleys in Canada. The Municipal Plan recommends measures to prevent the depreciation of this natural asset.*

importance that over 50% of the total employment is taken up by secondary industries, construction and building concerns and personal, distributive and clerical services. Employment within these three groups was estimated to be 6%, 10% and over 30% of the total employment in Corner Brook.

(E) EDUCATION.

Education in Newfoundland is denominational and all the principal religious denominations have their own school boards. In Corner Brook, schools are fairly well distributed throughout the city although there is a deficiency of space in the lower grades. Throughout the area there were no fewer than eleven school boards in 1954 due to the fact that each denomination had established separate school boards in the various municipal subdivisions which then existed. There is one joint school board, originally formed to run a school for Anglican and United Church children in Townsite, but which now controls five schools. This joint school board is now in the course of erecting a new regional high school. The principal shortage was that of junior schools, but in view of the restrictions imposed by the denominational system on planning schools in relation to the neighbourhoods which they served, it was decided not to attempt to fix locations for new schools but rather to ensure that within each residential expansion there was adequate space for the inclusion of schools for each denomination on any reasonable scale.

(F) UTILITIES.

Water supply and sewerage come under the control of the Water and Sewerage Corporation of Greater Corner Brook, which was formed in 1951. The source of water supply for Corner Brook, with the exception of Curling, is Corner Brook Lake which has a yield of at least 97 cubic feet per second. Even allowing for the maximum demands of the mill it was estimated by consulting engineers that this supply would be adequate and would provide a safe reserve for very many years.

PLANNING FOR CORNER BROOK

The source of supply for Curling is Second Pond which is estimated to be adequate to meet the growth anticipated up to 1964. Thereafter, the supply can readily be increased by linking Second Pond with another lake in its vicinity. Throughout the city water is available without pumping, to a height of approximately 450 feet, with the exception of a relatively small area in Curling.

The sewerage system installed is for sanitary sewage only, and no provision is made for storm water except in the old company townsite where a joint sewerage system was installed by the company at the outset of the development. The lack of storm sewers accentuates the damage caused by washouts to the minor streets, and the presence of newly installed sanitary sewers and the connections thereto will make difficult any attempt to put in a storm sewerage system in the future.

(G) HUMBER VALLEY.

The south bank of the Humber River lies within the old town boundary of Corner Brook East for a distance of several miles upstream from the pulpwood boom at its mouth. The sides of the valley are high, rugged and steep, with barely sufficient level land at the foot of the cliffs for the route of the railway line and highway to the east. Indeed in some areas the highway is constructed on land reclaimed from the river. There is only one relatively level area in the valley and as a consequence there is very little building development. The bridge over the Humber which was completed in 1955 links the north shore of the Humber Arm to the city by road.

The scenery of the Humber Valley is one of the principal tourist attractions of Newfoundland. It was felt that measures should be taken to protect it from spoliation not only by prohibiting construction of summer cottages and non-essential roadside development, but also by securing some control over the routes of electricity supply lines and telephone lines.

The Municipal Plan

The Municipal Plan contains proposals for the general development of the whole area for a period of ten years from the date of going into effect, subject to review at the end of every five years.

The Plan for the Corner Brook portion of the area which is printed with this article (*Figure 4*) shows many of the principal features of the whole plan.

(A) COMMUNICATIONS.

The plan aims at a well constructed network of streets based upon a low-level coast road, a high-level inter-urban road and a number of communicating links between them and the Trans-Canada Highway. Firstly, it is proposed to complete the Ball Diversion at both ends thus encouraging traffic to use it and relieve pressure on the coast road. At the east end this involved carrying the road over the Corner Brook then northward to West Valley Road. At its western end the Ball Diversion is to be carried across Georgestown Road and thence down to the coast road near Mount Moriah thus completing a circulatory route around the city. This

TABLE OF MAJOR ROADS

No.	Name	Road Length Involved	Length of New road	Length of Road to be surfaced	Length of Road Requiring Widening and Improving
		Miles	Miles	Miles	Miles
1	Low Level Road.....	.6.50	Nil	.6.50	.4.0
2	High Level Road (inter-urban).....	7.62	.75	7.62	.12
3	Country Road.....	1.62	Nil	1.62	1.62
4	Mt. Bernard Road.....	.75	Nil	.75	Nil
5	*West Street.....	.37	Nil	Nil	Nil
6	Premier Drive.....	.25	Nil	.25	Nil
7	West Valley Road.....	.75	Nil	.62	Nil
8	East Valley Road.....	.75	Nil	.62	.25
9	Fudges Road } Lears Road }	.62	Nil	.62	.62
10	Georgestown Road.....	.62	.12	.62	.50
11	Allens Lane.....	.50	Nil	.50	Nil
12	Pennels Lane.....	.50	Nil	.50	.50
13	Water Street (Curling).....	1.50	1.12	1.50	.37
	TOTALS.....	22.35	1.99	21.72	7.98 -

*Work on intersections only.

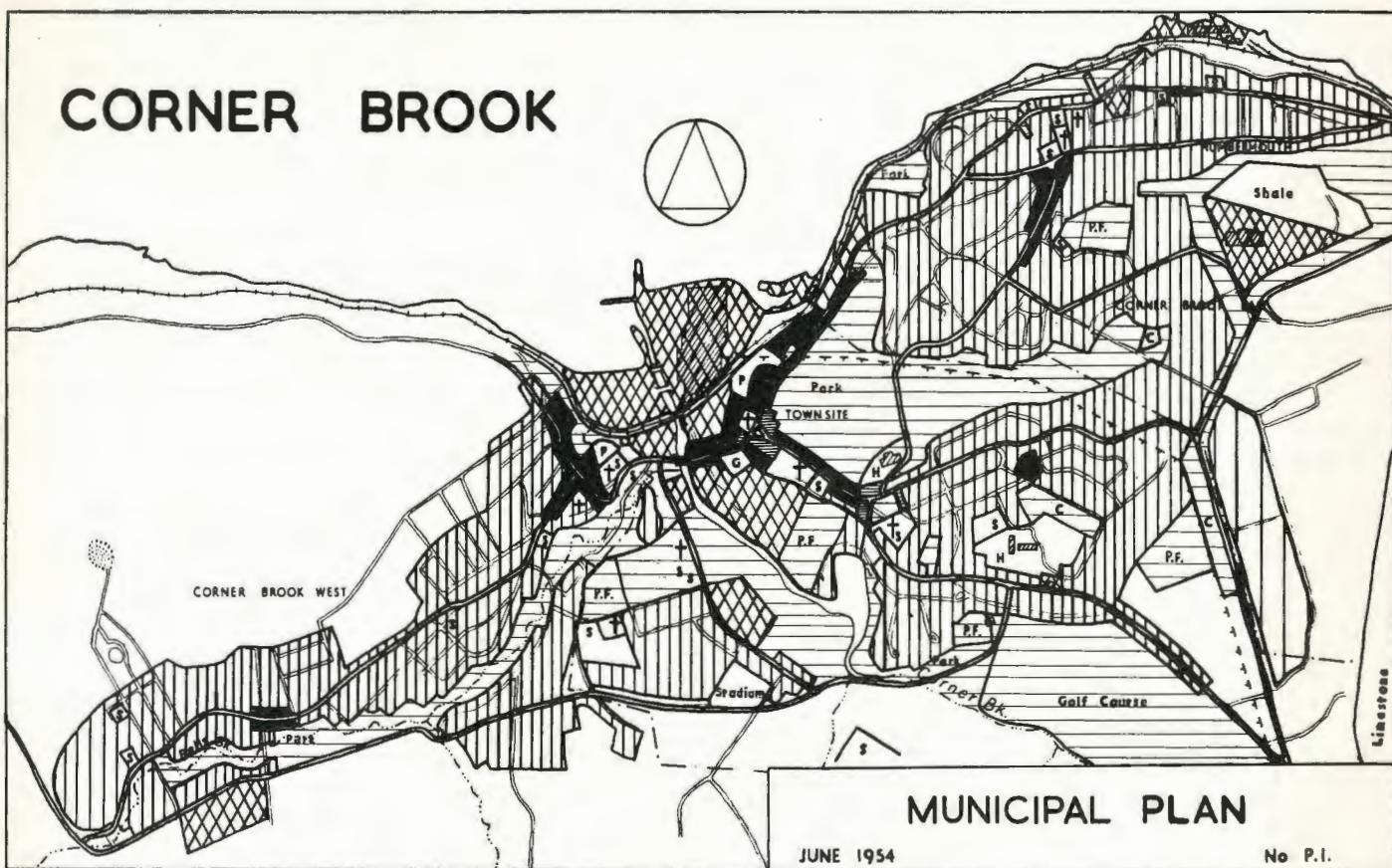


FIGURE 4. MUNICIPAL PLAN. Scale 2½ inches to 1 mile approximately. A main objective of the Plan is to concentrate and link together the residential areas. Compare the existing residential pattern: page 181, REVIEW, December 1957.

construction had of course been planned by the Government of Newfoundland when they built the Ball Diversion, but work had not been completed at the time the Municipal Plan was prepared. Secondly, it is proposed to pave, improve and reconstruct where necessary, the coast road for which plans were in course of preparation by a firm of Consulting Engineers to the Government of Newfoundland, as well as the principal link roads—Country Road, Mount Bernard Road, West Valley Road, East Valley Road, and Lears Road. Thirdly, new construction is proposed to complete the high-level inter-urban road and to open up access to the Curling waterfront. The purpose of the inter-urban road is to get onto the Corner Brook East plateau at a reasonable grade, without having to travel along the congested coast road. Construction of this road will also make possible the creation of the commercial centre for the eastern part of the city. The new road leaves the coast road

in Humbermouth and climbs up the hillside at a grade not exceeding 10% to its junction with Premier Drive and thence, by way of new construction and improvements to Hospital Road, enters the city cultural centre in Townsite. Both ends of Water Street, Curling are to be reconstructed to provide new, safer alignment at good grades, suitable for modern traffic.

The table shows the road works which are suggested in the plan as they affect major roads. It is intended that improvements to minor streets will take place either upon new sub-division or re-subdivision of the land, or whenever funds are available for the reconstruction of streets having satisfactory alignment.

(B) RESIDENTIAL AREAS.

The basic purpose of the plan is to concentrate the residential areas, thus increasing density and rendering the provision of services more economic. For this reason, outward

PLANNING FOR CORNER BROOK

expansion is strictly controlled and attention is given to infilling in existing areas of development. This has the additional advantage of bringing the parts of the city closer together and allows some valuable street links to be made through new residential areas, notably in that designed to link Townsite with the Corner Brook East plateau, immediately west of the Trans-Canada Highway. In addition to the schematic proposals contained in the plan, several detailed subdivisions have been prepared for the guidance of the City Council and of private developers.

The plan proposes that all development east of the Trans-Canada Highway and south of the Ball Diversion should be restricted save in areas where existing density is such that nothing is to be gained by restricting the completion of building in the area. One problem area is Maple Valley, immediately east of the Trans-Canada Highway. Here, the plan proposes that development be permitted at very low density. Existing buildings are very scattered in this area but even so, problems of sewage disposal have already arisen. The land is suitable for market gardening and is therefore recommended for development on lots of not less than 1.6 acres which would allow them to be used for buildings erected on holdings under the Department of Veterans Affairs Scheme. In Curling, the plan allows for some infilling and very little new residential subdivision. Houses in Curling are so scattered that this is the only way to secure any economy whatsoever in the provision of services. The plan does not envisage new subdivision in Curling within the first ten year period, but land eminently suitable for subdivision is reserved for use after the end of that period, in view of the scarcity of land suitable for building in Curling.

(C) INDUSTRY

Provision is made for expansion in the Smithville area and for a properly constructed road to be made to serve the industries there. The land immediately to the east of the paper mill is set aside for additions to the port facilities and as a possible area of expansion of the Canadian National Railways station and sidings. In Corner Brook East, the area needed for quarrying shale for use in the cement plant is protected and a belt of land upon which building is prohibited is secured around the plant and the quarry in order to keep to a minimum the danger and discomfort caused by blasting in the shale quarry and dust from the plant, to nearby residents.

There is a steady demand for small sites for light industrial purposes and to meet these, two new areas have been set aside, one south of the Ball Diversion in Corner Brook West and the other opposite the Stadium site, also on the Ball Diversion but in Townsite. In Curling, the whole central waterfront area, which will be opened up by the new road and extended by reclamation of land in Ballam's Cove, is reserved for industry, this being the only waterfront area in the city which is available for any major development.

(D) COMMERCIAL.

The plan extends the commercial centre of Townsite by recommending the redevelopment of that part of West Street which had been rather unwisely developed with housing in the early days of Townsite's growth. A new commercial centre for Corner Brook East is recommended round the intersection of the new inter-urban road with

Premier Drive and an attempt has been made to encourage some of the straggling commercial development along Country Road, to concentrate at a suitable location. As industrialization of Curling waterfront proceeds, the need for a commercial centre will become more apparent and the plan proposes the development of an area which is ideally located to meet that need.

(E) OPEN SPACE.

The plan recommends the formation of a large natural park at the top of the escarpment overlooking Townsite. It also suggests the creation of a new park in Corner Brook East in an area which is well wooded, on top of the cliffs running down into the Humber Arm. This is a beautiful area which had been encroached upon as an unofficial dump for cars and trucks and which, with relatively little work can be turned into a delightful amenity. It is suggested that two river valleys be developed with walks, one being that of Bell's Brook in Corner Brook West and the other that of St. Mary's Brook in Curling. There is a serious deficiency of playing fields in Curling, but level land is at a premium and only one small area has been suggested, although there is a possibility of a second relatively level area becoming available on church property.

(F) OTHER PROVISIONS.

The plan recommends that the disposal of garbage be centralised and the dump now used by the town of Curling be discontinued. This dump abuts the Ball Diversion in a very attractive hilly rural area and is a hideous eyesore. The closing of the Townsite refuse disposal area on the Trans-Canada Highway is also recommended, and the plan suggests that the sanitary fill method be used on the Corner Brook West disposal site and that the possibility of continuing the controlled land reclamation carried on for some years by Corner Brook East be examined. Suitable sites for land reclamation exist at several points along the shore of the Humber Arm, notably Brakes Cove, Gearyville and Ballam's Cove.

The plan recommends that additional land for cemeteries be found in land having good access from the Trans-Canada Highway but which is useless for other forms of development as it lies within a short distance of overhead electricity transmission lines.

Program

The Urban and Rural Planning Act of Newfoundland requires that the Municipal Plan be supported by a program of both public works and general development. To complete this program, the ten year period was divided into three phases: phase one, representing the first two years; phase two, the next three years, and phase three, the final five years. Residential development is programmed on a map which shows all the residential extensions planned for various parts of the city and indicates the phase in which these developments should take place. The allocation of phases is, of course, based upon such factors as proximity to existing development, the public works development program, the availability of water and sewerage and other facilities, and the need for linking together the various rather isolated areas of the city. The method of programming public works can best be followed by examining the following table which is a brief extract from the program.

STANLEY H. PICKETT AND J. T. ALLSTON

EXTRACT FROM PROGRAM OF PUBLIC WORKS AS IT RELATES TO MAJOR TRAFFIC ROUTES

Major Route	CORNER BROOK WEST			CORNER BROOK EAST			TOWNSITE			Remarks				
	Detail	Est'd Cost	Phase		Detail	Est'd Cost	Phase		Detail	Est'd Cost	Phase			
			I	II			I	II			I	II	III	
West Link Widening and Improving	Country Road 2,830 yds.	\$ 142,000	x	x		\$				\$				Including Curb and Gutter
Paving	2,830 yds.	85,000	x											
West Central Link Paving														Including Curb and Gutter
Central Link Improvement														Minor improvement near intersection
East Link														
Paving														Including Curb and Gutter
South Link														
Paving														
Junctions														
Central Link														
Paving														Including Curb and Gutter where necessary

The table shows the nature of the work proposed, broken down into its essential constituent parts, each being allocated a phase in the program. An estimate of cost is included, which in the case of road works, was based upon figures provided by the Provincial Department of Public Works. It was a great satisfaction to the planners when, soon after the completion of the report, the Council of the City of Corner Brook resolved to apply for a bond issue of \$2 million to carry out the public works in phase one of the planning proposals. The completion of these works, together with work undertaken by the Government of Newfoundland in 1956 on the coast road and Ball Diversion, will do much to improve the life of the citizens and will form a foundation for the steady development and growth of the community.

The planning report ends with suggestions for the administration of the plan. These include an outline of Zoning and Subdivision regulations as well as a draft of administrative regulations.

PRESENT STATUS OF PLANNING IN CORNER BROOK

The Municipal Plan is now fully operative, having been approved by the Minister of Municipal Affairs after consideration of a report from the Commissioner appointed to sit in

Corner Brook to hear objections to any of the proposals contained in the plan. The plan for Corner Brook West became operative in December, 1955 and was followed by the plans for Corner Brook East and Townsite in February and August 1956 respectively. With the approval by the Minister of the plan for Curling on 13th November 1956 the city as a whole became united under one comprehensive plan, administered by one amalgamated municipal authority.

Source Material

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ARE MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES OBSOLETE?

by H. Peter Oberlander

"Municipal boundaries will always be obsolete since they must of necessity lag behind the true community growth and never can catch up with the social and physical structure of a dynamic economy such as Canada is likely to have for the next half-century. . . . The important thing is . . . a creative, energetic and continuous cooperation—between and among the various government agencies established by us—to look after the total range of land development, in town and country."

Municipal boundaries, taking this phrase in its literal meaning, are certainly not obsolete, since they serve, and will continue to serve, a very proper function. They provide a specific and finite framework of political jurisdiction for one of the most important levels of democratic government.

What are obsolete, however, are relationships among the authorities contained by these boundaries or within them, and their relationship as a group with other levels of government.

Governmental boundaries, and in particular those of municipalities, have often been the result of accidents or other irrelevant factors. Consequently, they have seldom corresponded to the true extent of either the community contained by them or the geographic area that was likely to limit urban development. As long as urban development occurred well within arbitrary lines, no problems arose; but when the communities reached the boundaries and spilled over, the boundaries then became irrelevant and in no way representative of the true extent of the social or economic community. For these reasons, certain adjustments of municipal boundaries may well be indicated in certain locations, but this need for selective adjustments by no means makes municipal boundaries obsolete.

Editor's Note

This paper is based upon Dr. Oberlander's talk in a panel at the last National Planning Conference on the question ARE MUNICIPAL BOUNDARIES OBSOLETE? It also reflects an extensive study, recently completed by Dr. Oberlander, of inter-governmental relationships in the field of housing and planning. This study, which was assisted by a Senior Fellowship of the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, was submitted to Harvard University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in regional planning.

Dr. Oberlander is Associate Professor of Planning and Design in the School of Architecture at the University of British Columbia. He is also in charge of the University's Graduate Course in Community and Regional Planning. Dr. Oberlander is consultant to a number of cities and towns in western Canada and to the United Nations on its Technical Assistance program for the training of planners for less developed countries.

WHAT IS THE CRITICAL PROBLEM?

The critical problem is not the boundaries themselves but the relationships between units of local self-government and between the several levels of public administration. What, if anything, can be achieved, from the planning viewpoint, to attain a proper realignment of authority and responsibility for governmental action?

For planning, we ought to be far more concerned with the distribution of governmental functions and authority by area. In this context "area" is both an administrative and a geographic concept. A rethinking of the distribution of governmental authority by areas, geographic and administrative, ought to achieve three things:

- (a) improved governmental efficiency;
- (b) effective coordination among a great variety of governmental activities, and
- (c) last, but by no means least, a truly popular control of elected and appointed officials from among those directly concerned with local affairs.

What ought to be the limits of the governing areas? And how can we assure that their boundaries—which, after all, are essential to effective administration—will not tend to become obsolete? It is a simple matter to define a limited area based on simple criteria. To delimit a watershed based on topography and observable drainage patterns is relatively simple, even though some argument may arise as to what constitutes a definite area based on rainfall, temperature ranges or geology. Far more complicated is the problem of agreeing on boundaries to a composite area based on a multiplicity of factors: for example, the city region and all that this concept may denote. The basic problem in area definition is the reconciliation between *area* as understood by the geographer and *area* as used for administrative purposes. In fact, it is the superimposition of administrative areas on top of geographic or natural units of land that has caused the major clashes which may have indicated to some that "municipal boundaries are indeed obsolete". Let us examine for a moment the basic purposes of delineation for administrative areas. Such an area is usually one of three types:

(1) general governmental areas: these are specific and limited areas within which comprehensive governmental processes are carried on: for example, municipalities, or the provinces, or Canada as a whole;

(2) specific or limited purpose governmental areas; here we have a selected government function restricted to a specific limited area: our school board districts or our drainage districts are probably the best examples;

(3) field service areas: these are of considerable significance to the planning process, although they lack any sense of governmental jurisdiction.

The first two types have in common the four elements characteristic of governmental administrative entities:

- (a) legally defined boundaries;
- (b) a certain financial independence, e.g., ability to tax;
- (c) they enjoy certain political independence, e.g., directly-elected representatives;
- (d) considerable administrative independence within their geographic, political and financial boundaries.

The third type, or field-service areas, are not autonomous; they have no financial independence and represent mere convenience for execution of a specific governmental function. For example, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics has divided Canada into census districts for the purpose of facilitating its specific responsibility, namely, to gather data for the census. C.M.H.C. has divided Canada into administrative regions for the purpose of facilitating local administration without in any sense decentralizing policy-making or relinquishing central administrative guidance. The lowest form of local field service area is the area served by a local fire station or the beat of a policeman.

VERTICAL DISTRIBUTION OF FUNCTIONS

This brief excursion into the realm of political science may indicate the nature of the administrative process within which planning must operate. It points up the complex nature of the relationships among local, provincial and federal governments and their territorial jurisdictions. In order to offer a more meaningful answer than a categorical "No" to the question of "Are municipal boundaries obsolete?", I wish to submit that this is only one aspect of a far more complex problem—that is the problem of distributing governmental administration vertically as well as horizontally: vertically, among the federal, provincial and municipal governments in Canada, and horizontally among equal levels of administration abutting each other, and therefore separating their jurisdictions on an area basis. A horizontal readjustment of administrative jurisdiction must be based on a greater recognition of the impact of natural boundaries on patterns of human living and its concentration in cities. Engineering as well as political considerations dictate a comprehensive division of governmental jurisdictions horizontally if we are to resolve current and future conflicts as we find them in community planning.

The vertical adjustment is of equal importance and is often less clearly recognized. By vertical readjustments one is thinking of national action in the field of housing or highways or transportation generally, and the complex relationships that exist in these fields among the federal, provincial and local governments. In fact, the only effective solution

to the question before us is an adjustment of governmental authority and responsibility similarly between the horizontal and the vertical structure established for governmental action on behalf of all citizens.

In many parts of the world, studies, investigations, public hearings and inquiries by Royal Commissions and others have attempted to suggest ways and means of adjusting municipal boundaries to more contemporary needs. A great deal of money and effort has been used with very little effect from a purely planning point of view: for example, the Local Government Boundary Commission in the United Kingdom.

From the planning point of view, the question is not a readjustment of boundaries. This engenders jealousies, dissipates energies, resources and usually a great deal of public goodwill, since no readjustment could ever overcome the ultimate fact that the physical development of land by people for urban and rural purposes must *of necessity* be regulated by many divided authorities. There never can be a final adjustment of municipal boundaries. The problems that such adjustments are meant to resolve usually develop faster and more rapidly than any readjustment could achieve. It is an endless and thankless job. The important thing is not mere adjustments of municipal boundaries but a creative, energetic and continuous cooperation between and among the various government agencies established by us to look after the total range of land development, town and country.

We need cooperation among two kinds of public agencies: (1) those who have the constitutional powers to make plans; (2) those who have the constitutional powers to carry out these plans. We also need cooperation at two levels:

(1) cooperation among equal agencies in one common area dealing with common problems in a common geographic region: for example, a metropolitan area or a river basin;

(2) cooperation between the hierarchy of agencies in one common field of public action, like housing, highways or education.

We need continuing and creative cooperation not just between equal agencies, e.g. municipalities, but within the total governmental structure, including the provincial, federal and local governments.

Canada is a federal country, where, under the *British North America Act*, the power to deal with the preparation of municipal plans is a provincial one. This power is usually delegated to local authorities. Public powers to build communities, however, rest with the Federal, the Provincial and the local levels of government with their many boards of administration.

HOUSING AS AN EXAMPLE

A classic example of the Federal responsibilities for planning implementation is housing through the *National Housing Act*. Since 1935, a steadily rising proportion of the total number of housing units built in Canada have been built through Federal money or Federal insurance of private investments. In 1935 it was .02%; in 1940 it was 11%; in 1945 it was 8.6%; in 1950 it was 47%; and by 1955 it was 58%. Examining these figures on a provincial basis for 1955, in Alberta the proportion was 67%; in Ontario 63%; and in Manitoba 50%. If we examine comparable figures for the metropolitan areas, the proportions are even more staggering and revealing:

PROPORTIONS OF ALL NEW DWELLINGS BEGUN
WITH FEDERAL AID

1955—Windsor	93%
London	93%
Hamilton	91%
Edmonton	87%
Calgary	85%
Toronto	65%
Vancouver	52%

These figures should teach us never to underestimate the power of the purse-strings of the Federal Government for the implementation of physical planning. Other examples can be found in the field of highways or national harbours or in each of the other transportation networks.

Post-war experience clearly indicates that planning is a cooperative matter between interlocking governments at all levels of administration, acting or failing to act on their joint responsibilities towards town and country. Let us de-emphasize administrative differences based on municipal boundaries between communities, or provincial boundaries between provinces, or the imaginary line of demarcation

between Ottawa and the ten Canadian provinces, and focus on a program of joint action involving all levels of administration for purposes of comprehensive community development.

Negotiation and cooperation on an orderly, continuing and well-established basis between all levels of government, between all agencies of administration, is far more economical and fruitful than merely adjusting boundaries which, upon adjustment, are usually out of date once again. Municipal boundaries will always be obsolete, since they must, of necessity, lag behind the true community growth and never can catch up with the social and physical structure of a dynamic economy such as Canada is likely to have for the next half-century.

We need cooperation horizontally among adjoining jurisdictions and vertically among different jurisdictions within the same geographic area. This cooperation must be available easily and must be based on a broad public recognition as well as a declared public policy that the three levels of government are jointly responsible for the development of Canada as a whole.

A NOTE ON HOUSING, PLANNING, AND MUNICIPAL TAXATION

by Mary Rawson*

The property tax, everyone agrees, is a mixed blessing. Since Confederation it has been the mainstay of municipal finance, but it is taking an increasing amount of abuse as the municipalities struggle with ever-increasing financial problems. It has suffered the epithets of modernists and moralists ("old fashioned", "of doubtful parentage"), the ponderous judgments of economists and the curses of many an industrious citizen. The most serious charges to be laid against it are that it is unfair, and that it is a serious deterrent to building.

The present acute shortage of housing and the increasing financial burdens of municipalities are good reasons for investigating the whole system of local taxation. It is possible, for example, to trace some of the blame for the housing shortage to the property tax. And what about slum growth? and urban sprawl? Strangely enough, those who dig into the problem find no ready portfolio of evidence. The little material that has been published is so general that it is practically useless for analysis.

The only recent book which sheds light on the subject is Walter Morton's *HOUSING TAXATION*, published by the

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University of Wisconsin in 1955. Morton, who was particularly concerned with the effects of the property tax on dwellings, measured carefully all the costs of making and maintaining a house, putting the burden of the property tax at 2.5 to 3 per cent of capital cost. Taking into consideration interest, depreciation, maintenance, and insurance, he found that property taxes constituted *20 to 25 per cent* of the total annual cost of carrying urban property.

"We cannot know exactly how real estate taxes affect the volume of construction, but the effect of an item that raises the annual cost of shelter by about 25 per cent cannot be a negligible influence upon the willingness to spend for this purpose. The home-owner is induced to keep down his monthly costs by building a smaller house, and the renter has to be satisfied with accommodation smaller than he would like. . . . The heavy property taxes now levied tend to reduce the volume of new building and at the same time the demand for housing. . . . A lifting of the tax should have the opposite results."

It is important to notice that in this study Morton distinguished between the two elements of real estate—land and improvements—in order to understand how a change in the tax levy would affect each form of property. The tax on improvements he describes as "a sales tax on shelter." It decreases the volume of output, raises the unit cost of living space, and decreases community welfare. Because it acts as

a deterrent to the creation and use of housing facilities, it probably has a depressing effect on the economy as a whole.

"When ample material and labour are available, a reduction in the tax on improvements should stimulate new construction, increase total housing space, and benefit home-owners and tenants alike. . . . A tax reduction on land will have no effect on construction but will be capitalized by landowners."

This allusion to the effect of the property tax on land values is suggestive. It is surprising that Morton didn't follow it up since the cost of lots is one of the chief obstacles to homeownership today.

A second useful study of the effects of the property tax is an Australian one, *THE RECLAMATION OF AN INDUSTRIAL SUBURB*, published in 1949. This is a well illustrated and amazingly thorough survey and analysis of properties, assessments, and taxes in the industrial slum of Fitzroy, Melbourne. The aim of the survey was to find out whether a change in the municipal taxation system, in particular the exemption of improvements, "would provide a force for regeneration by encouraging improvements and discouraging the holding of properties in a deteriorated condition."

Describing 140 properties on eight poor streets as typical, the research team found that the assessed values had decreased in a twenty-year period (1927-47) from 20 to as much as 90 per cent, and they point out that "these substantial decreases in assessments have meant that other properties have had to make up the loss of revenue." Their conclusion was that the present system had pernicious effects and ought to be abandoned.

"The taxation system works directly towards the production of and extension of slum properties. It penalizes with higher rates those properties which are kept in better repair than the average. Those which deteriorate are rewarded with rate reductions. . . . In effect, it gives a bonus in reduced rates to those owners who have shown the least interest in the condition of the property and their tenants' living conditions."

We know all this is true from our own everyday observation, but we do not dream of the extent and seriousness of the decay, nor the increased burden such decay puts on other taxpayers, both tenant and home-owner. While the man who lays a lawn, builds a fence or improves his property in any way is called upon to pay on an increased assessment, the owner of a run-down property is relieved of taxes according to how much he allows his building to dilapidate.

A typical case in an unnamed eastern U.S. city was described in the November 15, 1956, issue of *THE REPORTER* under the title "The Life and Times of A Slum Landlord."

"Since 1935 when Dan [the slum landlord] bought his first house, the assessed value of his properties has dropped twenty-seven per cent, meaning his municipality gets nearly \$8,000 less in taxes from them each year. The city is spending forty-five per cent of its income in the slums and getting six per cent of its taxes there."

Only because their taxes are so low can "slum properties" exist. The owners of developed property, residential and

business, are subsidizing them. Recent studies of several big U.S. cities for example show that the central blight areas, where 33 per cent of the population lives, accounted for 45 per cent of major crimes, 55 per cent of juvenile delinquency, 50 per cent of the disease and 45 per cent of fire, police and other service costs. But these areas contributed only 6 per cent of the cities' tax revenue.

As far as the property tax rests upon the site value of a property, it rests upon the potential earning power of the site, in direct proportion to it, and without consideration of whether the owner develops his property well or poorly. In this respect the tax on land is superior to the tax on improvements. It encourages the highest use of each site and does not penalize those who build and improve. Because the property tax on land takes a portion of the annual value, whether or not the land is being well used, it is a discouragement to pure speculation, and to the "withholding" with which planners and developers are constantly faced.

In short, the property tax acts on the two components of real estate in different ways and with quite different effects on the welfare of the community. On the one hand it inhibits building and homeownership; on the other it encourages the efficient use of land and discourages speculation.

The schizophrenia of the property tax is rarely recognized. To calculate the extent of benefit to be gained by a community which exempts improvements from local taxes on property, it is not sufficient to refer to the increased incentive to build and repair. The other lever, and probably a more powerful one, is the effect of a proportionate increase in the levy on land; especially on those vacant or nearly idle downtown sites. Those are the properties which are not paying their way. Those valuable downtown sites of potentially great use, represent one of the most scandalous wastes in the economic life of any city. The direct stimulant of an increased levy on such land, along with the relief of improvements is both a stick and a carrot, prodding and encouraging development and the efficient use of land.

It is already evident that to shift the tax load onto land would result in lower land prices. And lower land prices mean lower costs for slum clearance, street widening, park and playground projects. When the hope of speculative profit is taken out of this sort of hold-up, planning efforts will be less often thwarted.

But it is the second result, the gradual emergence of natural land-use patterns, which would so facilitate the job of curing a blighted, spotty and be-ribboned city. Ratcliff, a standard work on the economics of urban land, says this:¹

"The basic objective of city planning is to attain the same land use pattern that would emerge naturally . . . in the urban real estate market under conditions of perfect competition. . . . In the perfect market, natural zoning would result; land uses of similar or complementary character would naturally group themselves with maximum benefit to the property owners and to the community."

But the market is not perfect; hence the planner.

¹Urban Land Economics, by Richard U. Ratcliff.

In so far as it would tend to produce natural patterns of land use, a shift in the tax load would unravel some of the difficult tangles facing every planner. A tax on land only would lie, not on development, but on potential, since the value varies with the potential producing power of the site. If the potential earning power of the site is great—say it is a corner lot on a main street—then the tax is great no matter the use to which the site is put—hotel, parking lot, gas station, department store. A lot can not be lazy if the tax is based on its ability to pay.

Senator David Croll in the December, 1956, issue of the *COMMUNITY PLANNING REVIEW* drew attention to the fact that many slum areas are producing a terrific profit for their owners, whom he termed "economic vultures" who "prey and profit on low-income groups while we ignore their plight."

But it is not merely the low-income groups that suffer. It is every citizen of the community who, in one way or another, pays a share of the ransom.

The flight to the suburbs and central blight are different sides of the same coin. Whilst hundreds of serviced lots lie unused throughout the town, taxes on homes and the cost of land drive people further and further out. These people have been called "freeloaders, carpetbaggers, chiselers—members of the community who are parasitical to the mother ship." (*William Zeckendorf, speaking to the American Society of Planning Officials in San Francisco, March, 1957.*) But it is as unjust to call the commuter a parasite as it is to call the slum property owner a vulture. Both are logical products of the present method of raising local revenues.

REVUE DES REVUES

L'Urbanisme sur la Côte d'Azur

par Jean Cimon*

La célèbre Côte d'Azur est devenue la banlieue-soleil de Paris! Cette réflexion—que je m'étais faite lors d'un séjour récent à Nice—je la retrouve intacte à la lecture des études fort intéressantes et admirablement illustrées que la revue française *URBANISME*¹ a publiées récemment.

Le siècle de l'auto, des congés payés, des "voyages organisés", des vacances à bon marché (camping, auberges de la jeunesse, etc.) et de la "découverte de l'été méditerranéen" ont rapproché la Côte d'Azur de la foule parisienne. Au point que le plus grand nombre des plages de la Côte—quelque 350 km de côtes variées entre Marseille et Menton—"est envahi de foules bien au-delà de leur capacité d'accueil".

La Côte d'Azur subit une véritable prolifération urbaine prenant la forme d'un ruban urbain qui étrangle les routes côtières et soude les agglomérations les unes aux autres, créant ainsi une rue-corridor interminable qui masque souvent la mer et l'arrière-pays. "Mais la Côte, écrit Georges Meyer-Heine, n'est pas seulement un lieu de vacances et de résidences secondaires: c'est une des zones les plus peuplées de France, celle vers laquelle les migrations internes sont les plus fortes du pays (. . .) c'est que, mise à part la puissance in-

dustrielle et portuaire de Marseille, l'attraction du climat amène d'innombrables installations de retraités, d'artistes, d'intellectuels qui y établissent leur résidence principale."

La Côte d'Azur vit donc "l'époque des grandes foules": le droit aux vacances et la soif de soleil et d'eau claire atteint toutes les classes sociales. Le camping, si économique, rend possible cette évasion urbaine bienfaisante; c'est ainsi que l'été, la Côte est fréquentée par près d'un demi-million de campeurs. D'autre part, "la mise en service des avions à réaction à travers l'Atlantique apportera chaque année en Europe, environ 500,000 Américains de plus." La Côte d'Azur demeurant une étape obligée du tourisme international, c'est dire qu'il importe de prévoir les conséquences d'une invasion massive et prolongée du littoral méditerranéen.

Faut-il conclure que le *cancer urbain* est installé sur la Côte d'Azur et que cette dernière est condamnée? Ce n'est pas l'opinion de M. Cyril Upton, poète anglais et résidant sur la Côte depuis de nombreuses années. M. Upton, dans un article magistral sur l'évolution de la Côte d'Azur (cf. *URBANISME*, No 52), prétend que la Côte est plus belle que jamais. Ne faut-il pas se réjouir du fait que la révolution industrielle ait mis "le plus beau pays de l'Europe à la portée de presque tout le monde"?

Après avoir vanté les nouveaux aménagements urbains de Cannes, de Juan-les-Pins et du Cap d'Antibes, M. Upton s'interroge sur les graves problèmes d'esthétique posés par la construction des nouvelles autoroutes. "L'ouverture de nouvelles routes, écrit-il, entraîne invariablement la destruction d'arbres, et les routes sans arbres, surtout en Provence,

¹Cf. *URBANISME, revue française*, Nos 52 et 53 (1957), 254, boulevard Raspail, Paris (14e).

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sont comme des fenêtres sans rideaux, ou des yeux sans cils." Hélas! les yeux sans cils sont encore trop nombreux sur les routes canadiennes!

Si tout a changé de dimensions sur la Côte, conclut M. Upton, "rien n'est moins beau pour cela." Mais ce qui est impardonnable, ajoute-t-il, c'est "le déploiement des affreux et absurdes panneaux de publicité et toute la flagrante vulgarité qui (...) semble inséparable du commerce." Et le poète anglais pousse ce cri d'espérance qui se répercute jusqu'à Québec! — "Viendra-t-il le jour où les autorités locales (...) mettront fin à cette dégradation des routes publiques par la publicité privée du commerce?"

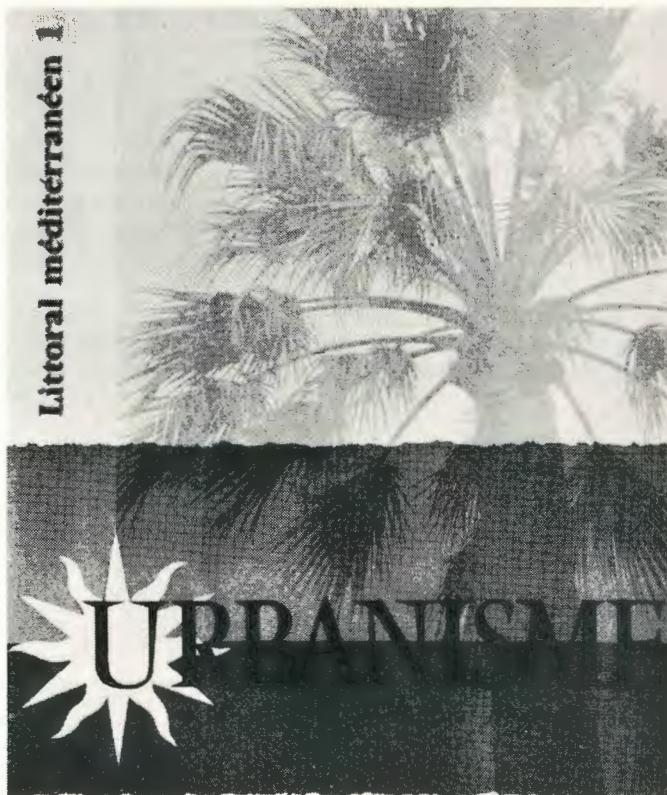
Dans sa présentation des *études d'aménagement*, l'urbaniste-en-chef Georges Meyer-Heine nous apprend que la Côte d'Azur a été divisée en sept groupements d'urbanisme. Il ne saurait être question de résumer ici toutes les propositions d'aménagement qui sont discutées et admirablement illustrées dans le numéro 53 de la revue *URBANISME*. Limitons-nous au système viaire proposé, car cette question est trop souvent la pierre d'achoppement des urbanistes canadiens.

M. Meyer-Heine expose d'abord une situation commune à nos deux pays: "sites gâchés, arbres abattus, circulation difficile entre des alignements trop resserrés, dangers pour les piétons comme pour les voitures, telles sont les conséquences inéluctables d'une liberté trop grande laissée à la construction le long des routes."

En partant du principe que la route doit s'incorporer au paysage, au lieu de le supprimer, les projets régionaux pour la Côte d'Azur proposent une solution dynamique; les abords de la route seront soigneusement sauvegardés: (a) "par des servitudes diverses (*non aedificandi, non altius tollendi*, d'aspect, etc.)"; (b) "et prolongés par des espaces libres publics qui sont le complément indispensable de la chaussée: parc de stationnement, stations-service et de ravitaillement, emplacements de camping, de pique-niques, points de vue, etc." Que les abords d'une route—à plus forte raison d'une route panoramique et touristique (*scenic route*, disent les Américains)—soient le complément indispensable de la chaussée, voilà un principe trop souvent méconnu de nos constructeurs de routes. Et l'expérience semble démontrer qu'un zonage négatif (servitudes *non aedificandi*, retraits obligatoires, etc.) soit difficile d'application et nettement insuffisant pour obtenir les buts recherchés: la protection du cadre naturel et de l'efficacité de la route.

Quand il s'agit de construire des autoroutes—de nouveaux tronçons de corniche—sur les parties actuellement inaccessibles de la Côte d'Azur, les urbanistes proposent donc "d'acquérir, par le jeu d'expropriation par zones au besoin, en même temps que l'assiette de la voie, des portions de terrains aussi étendues que possible, qui en sont le complément." Et ces terrains riverains, en plus d'assurer la jouissance collective du paysage et la sécurité de la route, pourraient être utilisés comme parcs publics ou loués—sous réserve d'un contrôle esthétique sévère—à des établissements de caractère public: restaurants, stations-service, hôtels, etc. Cette *étatisation* des abords de la route pourrait même servir les intérêts véritables de l'entreprise privée qui exploite les stations-service. "La prolifération, écrit Meyer-Heine, de ces constructions commerciales, en général inesthétiques, est due en effet à la concurrence entre les chaînes de distribution de carburants, coûteuses pour les

Littoral méditerranéen 1



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sociétés distributrices elles-mêmes du fait de leur nombre excessif qui en rend la rentabilité aléatoire. Il semble donc préférable de répartir en des emplacements bien choisis le long de la route, des établissements moins nombreux et plus rentables."

Mais le coût d'acquisition de terrains en bordure d'une nouvelle route n'est-il pas prohibitif? Non, car la valorisation de ces terrains se produit *après* la construction de la route nouvelle. "Le coût de telles acquisitions ne modifie guère l'ordre de grandeur du coût d'ensemble des 'corniches'. On peut évaluer, en effet, au 1/10 environ du prix de l'opération totale l'acquisition de l'assiette des voies: doubler ces acquisitions correspondrait à augmenter de 1/10 seulement ce total, ce qui est négligeable étant donné le but poursuivi." Si une telle politique avait été pratiquée en bordure du fleuve Saint-Laurent, l'autoroute de Ste-Anne de Beaupré, par exemple, serait aujourd'hui—au lieu de la laideur que l'on connaît—une route panoramique d'une rare beauté.

Mais une région aussi pittoresque et accidentée que la Côte d'Azur met en présence des circulations antagonistes. La circulation touristique est lente et elle désire s'approcher continuellement du bord de l'eau, ce qui crée de sérieux inconvénients. En effet, cette circulation touristique traverse des agglomérations littorales dont les rues-corridor sont déjà encombrées par une circulation locale saccadée et bruyante. D'autre part, la circulation rapide et la circulation lourde gênent la circulation touristique et vice-versa. De toute né-

cessité, il faut que la circulation soit différenciée. "La route lente du bord de mer, propose-t-on, devra donc être doublée, à une certaine distance, par une voie de circulation rapide permettant à l'automobiliste d'accéder rapidement aux portions de la côte sur lesquelles il désire s'attarder, et réciproquement." Cette solution a été réalisée avec bonheur dans la région estivale de Charlevoix (Province de Québec) qui présente des analogies topographiques et esthétiques (moins l'azur et le soleil!) avec le littoral méditerranéen. C'est ainsi que la route 15 dont le tracé prodigieux alterne entre le bord de mer (le bas Saint-Laurent, c'est déjà la mer!) et la cime côtière des falaises entre Baie Saint-Paul et la Malbaie, a été doublée à une certaine distance, par la route 15A, une autoroute rapide qui emprunte les vallées et les dépressions des massifs montagneux de l'arrière-pays.

Enfin, pour éviter un conflit entre la circulation touristique régionale et la circulation locale des agglomérations du bord de mer, la route touristique devra, d'une manière générale, "s'approcher des falaises inaccessibles et éviter les plages et les agglomérations." Cependant, cette solution coûteuse n'est

pas sans inconvénient sérieux, car "la construction systématique de "corniches" a trop souvent pour résultat l'invasion par les constructions du site même que l'on veut mettre en valeur." D'où la nécessité, exposée plus haut, des acquisitions —par la collectivité—de terrains aux points stratégiques.

Les urbanistes désirent que la route du littoral n'ait pas toujours les pieds dans l'eau. "En bordure de mer un sentier de piétons doit longer la côte d'une extrémité à l'autre." Si cette dernière proposition se concrétise, l'urbanisme français aura fait du beau travail!

Les migrations massives des "vacanciers" sont un phénomène dont l'ampleur croissante démontre une fois de plus la nécessité de l'urbanisme régional. Ces préoccupations se retrouvent dans une autre revue française excellente, *LA VIE URBAINE*, qui publiait récemment² un article du géographe Georges Chabot sur *l'Evasion Urbaine* et une étude illustrée d'Yvette Barbaza sur le littoral méditerranéen—La Costa Brava—de l'Espagne.

²Cf. *LA VIE URBAINE*, nouvelle série, No 2 (avril-juin 1957), revue trimestrielle de l'Institut d'Urbanisme de l'Université de Paris, 92, rue Bonaparte, Paris(6e).

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